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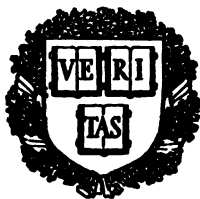
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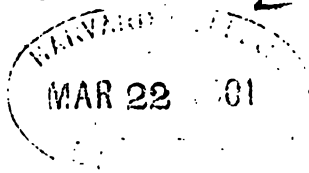
DEMOSTHENES

ON THE PEACE, SECOND PHILIPPIC

ON THE OCHERSONESUS AND THIRD PHILIPPIC

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PREFACE

THE present volume forms the second and concluding part of an edition of the *Eight Philippic Orations* of Demosthenes, the first part of which was published in 1897. The Speeches included in the former volume were the four preceding the Peace of Philocrates, namely the *First Philippic* and the *Three Olynthiacs*. Those included in the present volume are the remaining four, namely the Speech *On the Peace*, the *Second Philippic*, the Speech *On the Chersonesus*, and the *Third Philippic*.

The Introduction takes up the thread of the historical narrative at the point at which it was dropped in the Introduction to the former volume. It opens with some account of the events between the Fall of Olynthus and the Peace of Philocrates. It also includes an analysis of the four Speeches here edited, together with an outline of historical events which is brought down to the death of Demosthenes. This is followed by a chapter on the *Textual Criticism of the Third Philippic*, in which a consecutive account of the general course of modern criticism on that problem is given for the first time in any work published in England. I have added a list of the principal dates in the life and times of

Demosthenes, and a conspectus of the literature of the Speeches comprised in the present volume.

The *text* is founded on that of Blass, without slavishly following it. In preparing the *Critical Notes* I have read through the text of all the four Speeches as published in the facsimile of the Paris MS, and, besides noticing the more important manuscript readings, have recorded the textual variations in the principal modern editions, including that of Thalheim in his text of the 'Nine Philippics' published in 1897. In the case of an author so well represented by ancient manuscripts, and so fully discussed by modern critics, there is hardly any room left for original suggestions on the text. But, in the Speech *On the Peace*, I have suggested αὐτὸ μέντοι τοῦτο in § 24; and, in that *On the Chersonesus*, οὐχ ὅπως in place of οὐ μόνον in § 51, and ἐνερσι for ἐπιστήμη in § 75. I have also expressed my doubts as to the soundness of the phrase τῶν ἐν Θράκῃ κακῶν, as applied to the miserable villages of Thrace in § 30; and (on p. 180) have given reasons for believing that, in the *De Falsa Legatione* § 156, Θράκην is a corruption of Ἐργίρκην.

In the *explanatory notes* I have, as before, endeavoured to deal briefly with every point of interest or importance, both as regards the Greek of Demosthenes and the history of his time. In the present volume the notes have, however, been somewhat reduced in extent, partly by adopting the plan of giving references to the notes in the former volume on all points common to both. While the text is as much as one-fourth longer than that of the previous volume, being in the proportion of 51 to 41 pages of the Teubner text, the space assigned to the notes is greater by only one twenty-second, being in the

proportion of 161 to 154 pages. In the case of the shortest of these Speeches, that *On the Peace*, if there are any who regard the proportion of 26 pages of notes as excessive in comparison with 10 pages of text, I may mention that, in the only separate commentary on the Speech which has ever been published in England, that of the Cambridge Professor of Greek, Andrew Downes (1621), as reprinted a century ago, the number of pages covered by the 'annotations' is no less than 216.

Of the other Speeches included in this volume, the *Second Philippic* holds an important place in the series, while the *Third Philippic* is generally acknowledged to be the most powerful of all the 'parliamentary' Speeches of Demosthenes, and the Speech *On the Chersonesus*, though less familiar to English students, is little, if at all, inferior to it. The speech in question was regarded by Lord Brougham as 'the most argumentative' and 'the finest' of all the *Philippics*, and by Lord Lyndhurst as eminently of a kind that was 'well adapted to succeed in our Senate.'

The style of Demosthenes in general is the theme of an admirable piece of criticism in Hume's *Essay on Eloquence*:—'Could it be copied, its success would be infallible over a modern assembly. It is rapid harmony, exactly adjusted to the sense; it is vehement reasoning, without any appearance of art; it is disdain, anger, boldness, freedom, involved in a continuous stream of argument; and of all known human productions, the orations of Demosthenes present to us the models, which approach the nearest to perfection' (*Essays* i 170, ed. 1882).

It is to the modern interest of Demosthenes that we owe much of his enduring fame. Precisely the

same arguments were used in our Parliament to show the necessity of continuing the war against Napoleon which were used by Demosthenes to incite the Athenians against Philip (p. 148). His denunciation of Athenian policy in Macedonia finds one of its closest parallels in a leading article in *The Times* on English policy in China (p. 151), while his claim that his counsels owe their value to the fact that his judgement in political affairs is unbiassed and incorruptible (5 § 12) finds an echo in a speech of Mr. Balfour's on 'Ministers and Directorships':—'It is clear that no man ought to do anything, hold any office, by which there is the slightest suspicion of his own integrity of purpose, by which his own slight, direct line of conduct in the public interest will be deflected by a hair's breadth either to the right or to the left' (*The Times*, 16 Feb. 1899). An earlier echo may be noticed in Burke's Speech to his constituents at Bristol (6 Sept. 1780):—'look, gentlemen, to the whole tenour of your member's conduct; try whether his ambition or his avarice have jostled him out of the straight line of duty.' Even the famous *ὁππερ νέφος* at the close of a sentence in the Speech *On the Crown* (§ 188), finds its counterpart at the end of a paragraph in the Speech just quoted:—'Our reason, I trust, will return with our security, and this unfortunate temper will pass over *like a cloud*.' Again, Demosthenes, in the Speech *On the Chersonesus*, contrasts himself with the statesmen 'who for an *ephemeral popularity* have ruined the main resources of their country' (8 § 70). Burke, in the Speech just quoted, says: 'I am to look, indeed, to your opinions; but to such opinions as you and I must have five years hence. I was not to look to the *flash of the day*.' Demosthenes, in

the sequel of the passage just quoted, says 'I continue to offer counsel by which I sink below others in your regard.' Similarly Burke, at the close of his Speech on American Taxation, says 'I know that the way I take is not the road to preferment.' Demosthenes, again, in resisting a popular proposal to undertake an unjust prosecution, rose and said: 'Your counsellor, men of Athens, I shall ever be, even if you wish it not; a sycophant you shall never find me, even if you wish it' (Plutarch *Dem.* 14 § 3). Burke in the same strain declares to his constituents at Bristol: 'Your faithful friend, your devoted servant, I shall be to the end of my life: a flatterer you do not wish for' (3 Nov. 1774). Again, the Speech of Fox on the Russian Armament, which includes a direct reference to Demosthenes, is inspired by the spirit of the *Philippics* in the stirring appeal:—'I exhort you to rouse from your lethargy of confidence into the active mistrust and vigilant control which is your duty and your office' (1 March 1792); while that on Parliamentary Reform (1797) contains a passage on the conduct and consequences of the War closely parallel to the wonderfully condensed and most spirited exposure by Demosthenes of the intolerable injustice practised by Athenians towards their commander Diopceithes 8 § 23; Brougham's *Works* vii 200). The appeal of personal service abroad, made by Demosthenes in the *First Philippic* (4 § 25), with its satirical description of military officers mostly staying at home and only marching in festal processions through the market-place, finds a parallel in a passage from one of the speeches of the elder Pitt, 'as for the soldiers, believe it may be said of at least three-fourths of them, that they never went under any fatigue

except that of a review' (4 Feb. 1738). 'parallel has already been quoted in the Preface my former volume. My attention has since been drawn to another parallel in the rejoinder made the younger Pitt at a meeting of country gentlemen held to consider his Additional Force Bill in 1757. One of them objected to a clause for calling out force, which he insisted should not be done 'ex

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INTRODUCTION

I *From the fall of Olynthus to the Peace of Philocrates*

BETWEEN the delivery of the Three Olynthiacs in the summer of 349 B.C., and the fall of Olynthus in the summer of 348, hostilities broke out at Eretria in Euboea. These hostilities were probably provoked by the intrigues of Philip. An Eretrian named Plutarchus, who professed to represent Athenian interests in his city, sent to Athens for aid against his opponents. The request was strongly resisted by Demosthenes, who suspected treachery (5 § 5), but it was supported and carried by other politicians, including Meidias, who was a friend of Plutarchus and had been an enemy of Demosthenes at the time of his lawsuit against his guardians fifteen years before. Before February 348 the Athenian general Phocion was sent to Euboea with a force of hoplites and horsemen; in spite of the treachery of Plutarchus, he was victorious at the battle of Tamŷnae, but his victory led to no permanent result. At the end of March, at the great Dionysia celebrated after the battle of Tamynae but before the return of Phocion, *Demosthenes was publicly insulted in the theatre of*

Dionysus by his former enemy, Meidias. An unanimous vote of censure was immediately passed by the people (21 §§ 1, 2). After a time Demosthenes <sup>κατὰ Μεϊ-
δίαν 347 B.C.</sup> brought a lawsuit against Meidias and composed a long and elaborate speech indignantly setting forth his wrongs, but was ultimately induced to drop the case. We are informed that he was led to adopt this course on the receipt of a sum of money from Meidias; but it may fairly be supposed that he was also prompted in part by the public interests of Athens. Among the friends and supporters of Meidias was Eubulus, the leader of the peace party whose policy had been repeatedly attacked by Demosthenes. On the fall of Olynthus a change had come over the policy of that party, and Demosthenes may well have felt it unbecoming to continue his prosecution of a friend of Eubulus at a time when Eubulus himself had been acting in the interests of Athens in exactly the way that Demosthenes approved.

The political parties at Athens were united by the presence of a common danger occasioned by Philip's capture of Olynthus. On the proposal of Eubulus (19 § 304), envoys were sent to all parts of Greece, calling on all the several states to oppose the farther advance of Philip. Among these envoys was Aeschines who belonged to the party of Eubulus. In the discharge of his duties as envoy, he denounced Philip as a 'blood-guilty barbarian' (βά βαρον καὶ ἀλάστορα, 19 § 305), with an emphasis which even Demosthenes could not have surpassed. It is to be regretted that this union of parties in the attempt to rally the Greeks against Philip led to no result.

It was felt by Demosthenes and others, that the

only alternative was to make terms of peace. Even before the fall of Olynthus, Philip had intimated to the Athenians his readiness to enter into negotiations; and, when Olynthus had fallen, his capture of some of the Athenians sent to its aid aroused at Athens an anxious desire for their release. For this purpose negotiations were opened through the actor Aristodemus, whose profession, like that of the actor Neoptolemus, had given him ready access to Philip during the war, and had led to his being employed as an informal envoy. The prisoners were released without ransom. Aristodemus afterwards assured the Athenians of the goodwill of Philip and his desire for their alliance. In February 346 it was agreed on a motion of Philocrates, seconded by Eubulus, to send ten envoys to treat for peace. The ten included Philocrates, Demosthenes, and Aeschines. In the presence of Philip, at his capital of Pella, Aeschines descanted at great length on the Athenian claim to Amphipolis (Aeschin. 2 §§ 25-33); the last to speak was Demosthenes who (his rival informs us), after an unintelligible exordium and a brief reference to recent events, lost his presence of mind and broke down (ib. §§ 34 f.). The envoys returned in March with a letter from Philip, including a vague statement to the effect that he would have expressly mentioned the benefits he proposed to confer on Athens, had he been sure of obtaining an alliance, as well as peace (19 § 40). But he made no offer to restore Amphipolis. The terms of the proposed peace were that each of the contracting parties was to retain what they possessed at the time.

The question was discussed at Assemblies held on April 15 and 16. To touch the principle of the

The First
Embassy
Feb. 346 B.C.

status quo was impracticable : only one point was open to serious discussion. Peace and alliance were to be concluded between Philip and his allies on the one part and Athens *and her allies* on the other. But two of the allies of Athens were to be excluded, (1) the town of Halus, to the NE of mount Othrys in the south of Thessaly, now besieged by one of Philip's generals, and (2) the Phocians, with whom Athens had made a treaty of alliance in 355, when the Amphictyonic Council had decreed the 'Sacred War' against Phocis. The war had been waged ever since between the Phocians and the Thebans, and in 347 the Thebans invited the armed intervention of Philip. The exclusion of Halus and Phocis from the list of the allies of Athens was supported by Aeschines, and opposed by Demosthenes who carried the Assembly with him ; but, six days later, Philip's plenipotentiaries insisted on the exclusion being maintained. Otherwise Philip would have lost his excuse for interfering in the affairs of Phocis. The Athenians were most reluctant to disown the Phocians, who were not only their allies but were also the holders of Thermopylae, the narrow ledge of shore between the mountains and the sea, which was the key of Northern Greece.

In a fatal moment they allowed themselves to be reassured by Philocrates and Aeschines, who explained that Philip could not *openly* regard the Phocians as allies owing to his present relations with the Thebans and Thessalians, but, when once the Peace had been concluded, he would do whatever the Athenians desired (19 § 321). These promises were unfortunately believed. They were unhappily reinforced by the decisive language of Eubulus, who alarmed the Assembly by declaring that, unless they voted for the

measures advocated by Aeschines and proposed by Philocrates, they would have to march to the Peiraeus, to pay a war-tax, and to devote the festival-fund to the purposes of war. The Athenians yielded, thus closing the eleven years of war with Philip for the possession of Amphipolis (357-346) by voting for the 'Peace of Philocrates.' Another meeting of the Assembly was held five days later, and, immediately after this meeting, the oaths for ratifying the Peace were administered by Philip's envoys to the representatives of the allies of Athens in the presence of the Athenian generals (Aeschines 2 §§ 85 f.).

The Peace of
Philocrates,
April 16,
346 B.C.

Meanwhile the members of the First Embassy had been appointed to go on a Second Embassy, with a view to receiving the oaths from Philip and his allies. Demosthenes urged that the members of this Second Embassy should start without delay, and not allow Philip to extend his conquests in Thrace before his own ratification of the Peace (19 § 150). But they waited ten days, and it was thirty-two days after leaving Athens, that they reached Philip's capital at Pella (May). In the meantime Philip had been extending his conquests in Thrace (8 § 64; 9 § 15), and, on the day before the Peace had been ratified at Athens, he had reduced to subjection an Athenian ally, the Thracian chief, Cersobleptes. Fifty days after the envoys had left Athens, Philip returned to Pella on June 17, and there took the oaths. He invited the Athenian envoys to accompany him on his southward march, with a view to mediating in the conflict between Halus and Pharsalus (19 § 36), thus deferring the date of the ratification of the Peace by his allies, and gaining a convenient excuse

The Second
Embassy,
April-July,
346.

for approaching the neighbourhood of Thermopylae. It was not until the envoys arrived at Pherae, in the south of Thessaly, that the oaths were administered to Philip's allies. The Phocians were expressly excluded from the terms of the Peace. After an absence of seventy days, the envoys reached Athens on July 7, leaving Philip only three days' march distant from the pass.

Demosthenes, who was himself a member of the Council for the year 347-6, immediately reported to the Council the proceedings of the Embassy, recalled the promises by which Aeschines and other envoys had induced the Athenians to agree to the Peace, denounced those envoys, and strongly urged the Council not to abandon Phocis and Thermopylae (19 § 18). A fleet of fifty triremes was in readiness (19 § 322). The proposals of Demosthenes were approved by the Council and a resolution was passed for the approval of the Assembly. But, at the meeting of the Assembly on July 10, this resolution was not even read. Aeschines made a speech assuring the people that Philip had advanced to Thermopylae as the friend and ally of Athens, as the protector of Phocis, the restorer of the enslaved Boeotian cities, and the enemy of Thebes alone. He would shortly restore Thespieae and Plataea, would protect the Phocians; would humble Thebes, would restore Ôrôpus to Athens, and would grant her Euboea in compensation for Amphipolis (5 § 10; 6 § 30). Demosthenes protested that he knew nothing of any such promises, but he was hooted down, while Philocrates amused the people by saying: 'No wonder Demosthenes and I do not agree; he drinks water, while I drink wine' (6 § 30). A decree was passed extending peace and alliance between

Athens and Philip to the descendants of both of the contracting parties, and also providing that, unless the Phocians surrendered to the Amphictyons the temple at Delphi, Athens would interfere to compel them to do so. Within seven ^{Philip master of Thermopylae.} days of the passing of this decree, the Phocian commander made his own terms with Philip, who thus became master of Thermopylae, the gate of Northern Greece.

Philip now called upon the Amphictyonic Council to pass judgement on the Phocians. Their twenty-two towns were dismantled and the ^{The fate of the Phocians.} inhabitants compelled to live in small and scattered villages and pay a heavy tribute to the Delphian temple. The seat and vote of the Phocians at the Council were now transferred to Philip, who also received the right of precedence in consulting the oracle (9 § 32). He was further appointed to preside at the Pythian games in the autumn of 346 (5 § 22), when Athens indignantly declined to send representatives (19 § 128; 5 § 14). While Philip and the other Amphictyons were still at Delphi, envoys were sent by Philip and the Thessalians to Athens, complaining of her reception of certain exiles from Phocis (5 § 19) and inviting her to accept Philip as a member of the Amphictyonic Council. The promises of Aeschines had all been contradicted by the acts of Philip; but (as Demosthenes tells us at a later date) Aeschines alone spoke on the side of Philip's envoys, and, when the Assembly clamoured and refused to hear him, came down from the platform exclaiming in the presence of the envoys, that there were 'many to clamour, but few to fight in the day of need' (19 § 113). It was to allay the rash and perilous excitement of the indignant patriots, whose

opposition might easily have landed Athens in war with all the Amphictyons about a mere matter of form, that Demosthenes delivered the *Speech On the Peace*.

περὶ τῆς
εἰρήνης
346 B.C.

II *The Speech On the Peace*

The present position of affairs is very serious; many advantages have been lost; and there is much difference of opinion as to the course which is most expedient. You have made deliberation still more difficult by your habit of deliberating after the event. But, if you are willing to listen in a proper spirit, I hope to give advice whereby the present position will be improved and our losses retrieved (1-3).

Though I hesitate to speak about myself (4), there have been three occasions when the advice which I gave has been justified by the event: (i) when I opposed the recent expedition to Euboea (5); (ii) when I warned you against the actor Neoptolemus and his management of Philip's interests at Athens in the early stages of the negotiations for the Peace (6-8); (iii) when I protested against the false promises made in the interests of Philip by Aeschines and Philocrates after the return of the Second Embassy (9, 10). My advice on all these three occasions has proved to be correct. This has not been due to any special ability on my own part, but, in the first place, to good fortune, and, in the second, to the fact that my judgement in public affairs is unbiassed and incorrupt (11, 12).

Nothing must be done which will break the terms of the Peace (13), or give the Amphictyonic Council a pretext for waging a common war against us (14).

A war with Philip alone (14, 15), or with Thebes alone

A. προοίμιον
(exordium).
Introduction
§§ 1-3.

B. ἀντίστασις
(irradiation).
Discussion
§§ 4-23.

Γ. εἰρήνησις
(normin).
Preliminary
retrospect §§ 4-12.

Δ. πρόθεσις
(propositio).
The orator's
advice §§ 13, 14.

(16, 17), would be less perilous than a war with all the Amphictyonic states combined (17-19). ^{III πλοτεῖς (prolatio).} We have a warning in the recently concluded Phocian war (355-346 B.C.), in which, ^{Grounds for this advice §§ 14-23.} by an unforeseen result, the Thebans, the Thessalians, and Philip, though inspired by different motives, were all united against the Phocians (20-23).

I am not advising you to submit to the dictation of others, when I urge you to act in a way worthy of the dignity of Athens, by avoiding war and ^{ο ἐπιλογος (peroratio).} winning credit for justice and good sense. ^{(conclusion} The Peace is unworthy of Athens; but, ^{§§ 24, 25.} having once been made, it must not be broken. In matters of real importance we have done much to avoid war with individual states: we have acquiesced in the loss of Ōrōpus, of Amphipolis and Cardia, of Cōs and Rhodes, and have allowed Byzantium to detain our corn-ships. It would be folly to go to war with all the Amphictyonic states combined, for the sake of the mere 'shadow at Delphi' (24, 25).

The speech is assigned by Dionysius to the archonship of Archias (Ol. 108, 3=346-5 B.C.).¹ It was doubtless delivered by Demosthenes in the autumn of 346. No suspicion of its possible spuriousness is suggested by Dionysius. It is observed by one of the Greek commentators that some had rejected it, because it appears to speak on the side of Philip, but, he adds, they fail to pay careful attention to the orator's object in so doing; the orator is not speaking in the interest of Philip, but for the general good of Athens.² Libanius, the

¹ ad Annum i 10 μετὰ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀρχίας, ἐφ' ὃ παραινέει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μὴ κωλύειν Φίλιππον τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας μετέχειν, μηδὲ ἀφορμὴν δίδουσι πολέμου, νεωστὶ πεποιημένοι τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνῃ.

² Schol. p. 158 Dind., and on § 12 p. 60, 1.

author of the Greek Argument, remembering the later passage in which Demosthenes states that Aeschines alone advised the Athenians to accept Philip as a member of the Amphictyonic Council (19 § 113), and regarding it as inconsistent with any speech being delivered by Demosthenes himself, holds that the speech was composed by Demosthenes, but not actually delivered. Demosthenes, he adds, may well have been afraid of being charged with having been bribed to speak in Philip's interest, since in the speech itself he makes a special point of claiming incorruptibility (§ 12). To remove the apparent inconsistency various suggestions have been made by modern critics. It has even been rashly conjectured by an early editor of Demosthenes, HWolf, that the speech was written by Aeschines. It has also been urged by an English commentator on the speech that, admitting that Demosthenes was the speaker, there is a wide difference between supporting a measure after it has been carried and being the first to propose it.¹ But it may be observed in reply, that there is nothing in the speech to show that the measure had been carried before the speech was delivered. Thirlwall remarks that 'Demosthenes himself concurred with Aeschines in his practical conclusion, though, it must be supposed, on widely different grounds':² while Grote assumes that in the later speech 'Demosthenes must have forgotten or did not wish to remember his own harangue *De Pace* delivered three years before.'³ Dindorf finds no other view open to him *quam ut Demosthenes temporibus serviens alio tempore alia dixisse judicetur*. Others have drawn attention to the contrast between

¹ Downes, p. 112 ed. Beck.

² c. 45 (vi 6).

³ c. 89 (viii 163).

positively recommending the acceptance of the envoys' proposal, and refraining from opposing it; the point of Demosthenes's criticism of Aeschines is that the latter alone *supported* the proposal; he repudiates the suggestion that he is proposing submission to Philip's dictates (§ 24), and maintains the honour and the safety of his country by advising an intermediate course between feebly submitting to Philip and rashly plunging Athens into a general war.¹ It has further been suggested that the speech was not necessarily delivered (like that of Aeschines) in the presence of Philip's envoys, but on some subsequent occasion, being in fact general in its character and implying that previous speakers in the debate had made various proposals for improving the position of Athens (§§ 1, 13).² For a complete understanding of the speech we should require to know the terms of the reply which the orator proposed to send. It may be surmised that, without expressly approving the recent decrees of the Amphictyons, the proposal ignored all disputes about the past, and simply declared that the Athenians were ready to serve the god of Delphi in the manner of their forefathers and to aid the rest of the Amphictyons in protecting his shrine. Such a reply would be different from that which the envoys invited and Aeschines approved. The statement that Aeschines alone supported the proposal of the envoys is confirmed by the fact that he makes no reply to the charge; he never taunts his rival with delivering the speech *De Pace*, but contents himself with a retort to a taunt in the context. In a later year (339 B.C.) Demosthenes saw

¹ Spengel *Demost.* pp. 29 f.; A. Schaefer *Dem. u. s. Zeit* ii 303²; ep. Weil *Harangues de Dém.* p. 197².

² Blass *Att. Ber.* iii i 342².

no less clearly than now, that a war against all the Amphictyonic states would be perilous for Athens (18 § 143); and, in his retrospect of the attitude of Athens at the close of the Phocian war, he thus sums up the general purport of his advice in the speech *On the Peace*:—*ἡμεῖς δ' ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἡγέτε τὴν εἰρήνην δμῶς.*¹

The speech is short and unimpassioned, sober and dignified. Philip's partisans are attacked (§§ 5, 10), but Philip himself is spared. The general tone resembles that of the three Speeches on foreign affairs sometimes described as the Hellenic Orations of Demosthenes (Or. 14, 15, 16). There is only one rhetorical question (§ 17), and only a single simile, that of the balance, in § 12. As a rule, the sentences are long and flowing, while shorter clauses are reserved for the peroration which closes with a striking adaptation of a popular proverb. The outline of policy set forth in the first half of § 24 is not filled in; but there is no reason to doubt that the speech is complete. Dobree's opinion, *initium tantum orationis extat*, rests on the old reading *τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖξειν*, which is now superseded by *τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖν ποιεῖν* (l. 196).

The Speech *On the Peace* was successful in its object. Had it failed, we may be sure that Athens would soon have been embroiled in a war with Philip and the rest of the Amphictyons. As it was, the next six years from 346 to 340 B.C. were a period of nominal though not entirely unbroken peace. Towards the close of 346 Philip returned from Delphi to Pella. In the following year, 345, he turned his arms against the ancient enemies of Macedonia in the north, the Illyrians and Dardani,

¹ 18 § 43; ASchaefer l.c.

and the wild Thracian tribe of Triballi. In 344 he established an oligarchical rule in Thessaly (6 § 22), and renewed his alliance with the Thessalians and with the tribes in the mountains to the SW of the great Thessalian plain (18 § 63). Negotiations went on between Athens and Philip respecting matters in Thrace. Athens pleaded for the inclusion of her ally Cersobleptes in the terms of the Peace (19 § 181), and for the restoration of the Thracian forts which had been held by Athens and had been captured by Philip. Philip replied with fair promises; in the interests of Athens he even offered to cut a canal at his own expense across the approach to the Chersonesus and thus protect the peninsula from Thracian inroads (6 § 30). But he refused to surrender any of the forts, as he had captured them before taking the oaths in ratification of the Peace (Schol. on 18 § 162).

Philip next proceeded to interfere in the Peloponnesus, where Messene, Megalopolis and Argos were abiding by their traditional enmity towards Sparta, while Sparta herself was now on friendly terms with Athens (5 § 18). He urged Sparta to recognise the independence of Messene (6 § 13), and, on her declining to do so, sent mercenary troops and supplies of money to Messene and Argos, and promised to come in person to their aid (6 § 15). To counteract this move, Athens sent envoys to the states opposing Sparta with a view to warning them against Philip's machinations. The foremost of these envoys was Demosthenes. At Messene and at Argos he eloquently set forth the fate of Olynthus as a warning how little the promises of Philip could be trusted, and how perilous it was for free

Demosthenes
at Messene and
Argos, 344 B.C.

states to enter into friendly relations with absolute monarchs. They had known Philip as their benefactor; let them pray they might never know him as their betrayer. They saw how he had treated Thessaly. They must beware lest, while seeking for deliverance from war with Sparta, they found a master instead (6 §§ 20-25). The speech was well received, and the other envoys spoke to the same effect in various parts of the Peloponnesus; but the impression made did not last long.

III *The Second Philippic*

It was shortly after this visit to the Peloponnesus that Demosthenes delivered the Speech known as the *Second Philippic*. The Speech, as de-
κατὰ
Φιλίππου §
344 n.c.
livered, included an answer to certain envoys (§ 28). Dionysius describes these envoys as having been sent from the Peloponnesus;¹ Libanius, the author of the Greek Argument, remarks that the speech itself does not show who these envoys were, or the object of their mission. This may be learnt, however (he adds), from the *Φιλιππικαὶ ἱστορίαι*. 'For at this time Philip sent envoys to the Athenians complaining that they were calumniating him in the eyes of the Greeks for having promised them many great advantages and having deceived them; he protested that he had promised them nothing and therefore had not deceived them; and he demanded proofs of their statements.' The Argives and Messenians (he continues) also sent envoys complaining that Athens was favouring and aiding Sparta in her enslavement of the Peloponnesians, and was thwarting them in their struggle

¹ *ad Ammaeum* i c. 10 πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας.

for freedom. The authority followed by Dionysius was probably Philochorus; that followed by Libanius, possibly Theopompus. Thirlwall assumes an embassy from Philip, accompanied by envoys from Messene and Argos, but he wrongly supposes that the embassy may have been headed by Python (18 § 136; [7] § 20), whose mission belongs to a slightly later date (first half of 343 B.C.). Grote cannot bring himself to believe, on the authority of Libanius, that there were any envoys present from Philip, the tenor of the discourse appearing to contradict that supposition (viii 177 note). Spongel regards the reply drafted by Demosthenes as an answer to the envoys of Philip.¹ Arnold Schaefer feels assured that the envoys from Argos and Messeno were *supported* by those of Philip.² Blass infers from the words in § 28, which refer to the Athenians deliberating 'by themselves' on some future occasion, that certain envoys were now present; the use of the article in the very first mention of '*the* Messenians and *the* Argives' (§ 9) implies that they had already been the subject of the debate; and the phrase, 'as it appears,' applied to the unwillingness of the Messenians to break off from their friendship with Philip (§ 26), may be readily understood as an inference from the presence of envoys from Messeno. He adds that the statement made by Libanius alone, as to the envoys sent by Philip, is not confirmed by the contents of the *Second Philippic*, and is probably due to some confusion with the subsequent Letter of Philip to which a reply is given in the speech of Hêgêsippus on the subject of Halonêsus (Or. [7]). Weil, on the other hand, contends that there is nothing in the speech to indicate the

¹ *Διμύρ.* p. 37; similarly Holm iii 301.

² *Dem. u. a. Zeit* ii 355² note; similarly Curtius v 360 ET.

actual presence of envoys from Argos and Messene, nothing that is really a reply to complaints on their being abandoned by Athens to the oppression of Sparta, while the reference to the 'stupidity' of the Peloponnesians would hardly have been permissible in their presence. In announcing his proposed reply to the envoys, the orator observes that it would have been right to call on the partisans of Philip, who were the instruments of Philip's perfidious policy. This (says Weil) can only be explained on the supposition that the envoys present had been sent by Philip himself.¹ Rehdantz holds that, if the envoys of Argos and Messene had been present, the orator would not have spoken as he does of Philip and the Messenians and Argives, or have left the grounds of complaint untouched; he supposes that certain envoys, whom we have no means of identifying, were present on some unimportant business on which Demosthenes proposes a draft reply, while in the speech itself he deals entirely with the general political situation.²

The speech is in fact not entirely suitable for delivery before the envoys of Philip or of the Peloponnesian states. Philip is described as breaking the terms of the Peace and plotting against all the Greeks (§ 2), and is denounced as a foe to freedom (§ 25). The Peloponnesians are treated with as little consideration; those of them who are courted by Philip are denounced as no less grasping and stupid than the Thebans (§ 19); the ancestors of the Argives are described as having failed to oppose the Persian invasion (§ 11); and the Messenians are mentioned in a tone of contempt (§ 27). One is left to conjecture that the envoys present came neither from Argos nor from Messene but from Megalopolis; and

¹ *Harangues de Dém.* p. 217^a.

² ed. 1870 pp. 41 f.

that the reply drafted by Demosthenes was an answer to a Letter from Philip complaining of the accusations brought against him by the Athenian envoys in their speeches delivered at Argos and Messene.

Analysis of the Second Philippic

Our foreign policy is confined to *verbal* protests against Philip's infringements of the Peace, while it is difficult to advise you how to *act* (1, 2). The responsibility for this absence of action lies with us speakers and with our audience (3); whereas both alike are bound to prefer counsels which are salutary to counsels which are pleasant (5).

A. προοίμιον
(exordium).
Introduction
§§ 1-5.

Philip's power is a menace to Athens (6). Immediately after the Peace, Philip made himself master of Thermopylae and Phocis; and used his power for the advantage of Thebes, as now for that of Messene and Argos, and not for that of Athens (7-10). His choice is inspired by what he sees of the present and what he hears of the past. He knows that your ancestors preferred to abandon Athens rather than submit to Persia, while those of the Thebans joined the foreign foe, and those of the Argives did not oppose him (11).

B. ἀποδείξεις
(tractatio).
Discussion
§§ 6-30.
Γ διήγησις
(narratio).
Preliminary
survey of the
situation
§§ 6-27.

He has chosen them as auxiliaries of his selfish ambition, whereas he would naturally have preferred to be on friendly terms with Athens, which has a larger navy, and to keep the promises which enabled him to obtain the Peace (12). In befriending the Thebans he was not impelled by a sense of justice (12), or by the stress of compulsion (14, 15). His entire plan of action is directed against Athens (16). He regards *you* as his only rivals; by retaining what belongs to *you*, he holds secure possession of his own dominion (17). He knows *that he is plotting against you*, and that you are aware of

it; he expects some harm to happen to himself, unless he is the first to inflict it (18). This is why he courts the Thebans and certain of the Peloponnesians, whose selfishness (he thinks) will make them satisfied with the present state of affairs, and whose stupidity will prevent them from foreseeing the future (19).

I have already had occasion to warn the Messenians and Argives by recalling the fate of Olynthus (20, 21) and of Thessaly (20), and by urging that Philip was not to be trusted by any who prized their own liberty (23-25). My warning has apparently been without result in the Peloponnesus (26), but *you* will be too wise to neglect it (27).

As to the course of *action* which you must follow, you will, if you are wise, deliberate by yourselves on some future occasion: meanwhile, I shall at once state the terms which it would be proper for you to pass as an immediate reply (28).

II πρὸς τὸν
(propositio).
The orator's
proposed reply.

The responsibility for the present state of things rests (1) with those whose promises originally induced you to make the Peace and (2) with those who (when I protested, after the Second Embassy) twitted me with being a sour-tempered water-drinker, and promised that, if Philip entered Greece, he would carry out our wishes, would humble Thebes by fortifying Thespieae and Plataea, would cut a canal across the Chersonesus, and would restore to us Ōrōpus and Euboea in compensation for Amphipolis (29, 30). Worst of all, the hopes thus inspired prompted you to extend this Peace to posterity (31). My reason for saying that the persons responsible ought now to have been called, is not to cause an altercation, in which I should have no advantage over my opponents, while the latter would establish a first claim to the favour of Philip, or to indulge in an idle garrulity (32); but because I fear that Philip's policy may only too soon inflict still further pain on you, and that,

III Concluding
remarks, probably
connected
with the last
point of the
proposed reply,
 §§ 28-36.

your indignation, you may then lay hands, not on those who are really responsible, but on those who are immediately under your power (33, 34). Before the coming of the evil day, I would remind you who it was that persuaded you to sacrifice Phocis and Thermopylae, and thus made Philip master of the way into Attica and the Peloponnesus (35). But for this, Philip would never have been enabled to invade our country either by sea or land (36).

I have said enough by way of reminder. Heaven grant that my forebodings may never be fulfilled; for I myself would have no man punished, though death he may deserve, if it involved the danger and the damage of all (37).

ο. ἐπιλογος
(peroratio).
Conclusion.

In the opinion of several critics (Spengel, Rehdantz, and Weil), the proposed reply was reserved for the end of the speech. 'It is to be regretted' (says Thirlwall) that it 'has not been preserved. . . . The tone of the speech leads us to suppose that it made no material concession; there is reason to believe that it advanced some new claims; yet it so far satisfied Philip and his allies, as to avoid an open rupture' (vi 12). In the *Second Philippic*, the calm and sober tone of the speech *On the Peace* gives place to an eager denunciation of the peril in which Athens stands owing to the false promises of Philip's partisans. In correspondence with its different aim, the style is more vivid. We have touches of sarcasm in the opening sentences, and in the play on the double sense of μέλλειν (§ 14). In the quotation from the speech delivered at Messene, we have what Brougham describes as 'the beautiful passage about mistrust of tyrants being the true bulwark of freedom.'¹ We have an incidental eulogy of Athens

¹ Brougham's *Works* vii 52.

for having never, like the Thebans of old, betrayed the cause of Greece to a foreign foe (§§ 8-12), a eulogy which, so far from being the language of mere flattery, is an incentive to future action couched in the form of praise of the past. Towards the close of the speech a profound impression is produced by the use of the simplest but most suggestive language, as when the orator mysteriously refers to some slowly advancing calamity (§ 33) or vaguely suggests the gradual approach of a gathering storm (§ 35).¹

'Though nothing (says Brougham) can be more artfully calculated to gain the favour of the Athenians, and also to warn them against Philip's designs, it must at once be admitted, that to describe this celebrated oration as a piece of close reasoning is an abuse of terms. Eloquent, spirited, effective to its purpose, it unquestionably is. Had argument been required to effect that purpose, there would have been cogent reasoning no doubt used; but the effect is produced by plain statements, or powerful allusions to well-known facts' (*Works* vii 53).

In the latter part of the *Second Philippic*, the orator, while abstaining from mentioning names, undoubtedly refers to Philocrates and Aeschines as responsible for the present state of affairs, and in its closing sentence, he who 'deserves death' is doubtless Aeschines.² Thus the speech leads up to the actual proceedings against those persons, the earliest steps towards which must have been taken within thirty days after their return from the Second Embassy in July 346. In the first half of 343, one of the most brilliant of the anti-Macedonian orators, Hypereides,

¹ Blass *Alt. Ber.* III i 350².

² Libanius *Arg.* p. 65 ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἀλκίωνα ἀντίκειται, προκατασκευάζομενος, ὡς φασί, τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν τῆς παραπρεβείας κτλ.

impeached Philocrates, 'for having, as a public speaker, given advice that was not for the best advantage of the people of Athens, while he received sums of money and gifts from those who were acting contrary to the interests of the people.'¹ Philocrates went into banishment, and, in his absence, was condemned to death. In the latter half of the same year, Demosthenes resumed his charge against Aeschines for culpable neglect of his duties in the Second Embassy. 'I undertake to prove,' says Demosthenes, 'that Aeschines has reported what was untrue and has prevented the people from hearing the truth from me; that he has given advice absolutely opposed to your interests, and fulfilled none of your instructions on the Embassy; that he has wasted time in which many important opportunities have been lost to the commonwealth; and that for all this he has received presents and wages in conjunction with Philocrates' (9 § 8). The orations purporting to have been delivered by the prosecutor and the defendant are of considerable length, and contain much that bears on the speeches included in the present volume. In the speech of Demosthenes the guilt of Aeschines is inferred but not proved; and much stress is naturally laid on the fact that the people were deceived by the promises made by Aeschines on his return from the Second Embassy, and were thereby led to permit the seizure of Thermopylae and the ruin of Phocis. Plutarch in his *Life of Demosthenes* (c. 15) quotes the statement that Aeschines was acquitted by a majority of thirty votes, and the unknown author of the *Lives of the Ten Orators* adds that Aeschines was supported by Eubulus.

¹ *Hyp. pro Euxenippo* cc. 39 f.

Meanwhile the interests of Philip were being promoted by his partisans in not a few of the cities of Greece which were torn asunder by the spirit of faction. He was thus enabled, in the first half of 343, to find a footing in Elis. It was not secured without bloodshed: the spirit of subserviency to

Philip's
intrigues
in Elis,
Megara and
Euboea.

Philip (says Demosthenes) 'has entered Peloponnesus and has caused the massacres at Elis; and with such frenzy and madness did it infect those miserable people that, to gain dominion over each other and to find favour with Philip, they spilt the blood of their kinsmen and their countrymen' (19 § 260). He was invited to send a force of mercenaries to seize Megara (19 §§ 87, 295; 9 §§ 17, 27), but the attempt was baffled, apparently by the aid of Athens. He next attacked Euboea, whose independence had been recognised in the Peace of Philocrates, and established despots at Eretria fronting the north of Attica and at Ōreos in the north of Euboea (8 § 18). Towards the end of 343 he marched in person into Epeirus and threatened Ambracia, Acarnania and Leucas (9 §§ 27, 34); but his progress was checked

Philip's pro-
gress in Epeirus
checked by
Athens.

by the Athenians, who sent a citizen-force to Acarnania ([48] §§ 24-26) and also dispatched an important embassy, including Demosthenes, Polyeuctus and Hêgêsippus, which prevented him from approaching Ambracia or advancing into the Peloponnesus (9 § 72). Baffled in the west, Philip returned to the east, captured Nicaea and Echînus on the Malian Gulf (9 § 34),

Philip in
Thessaly.

and further organised the subjection of Thessaly by placing a ruler over each of the four ancient divisions of the country (9 § 26).

During the same year, negotiations for amending

the terms of the Peace passed to and fro from time to time between Athens and Peñā. Python ^{Proposals for amending the Peace of Philocrates.} of Byzantium, one of the ablest of Philip's envoys, was sent to Athens, and, in a speech before the Assembly, complained that 'in spite of Philip's intentions to serve Athens, and his preference for her friendship to that of any other state in Greece, the Athenians opposed him themselves, and listened to the language of slanderers who asked him for money and yet abused him; that by such calumnious language his feelings were altered, when he found himself mistrusted by those whom he had purposed to befriend. Python accordingly advised the public speakers not to disparage the Peace; but, if there were anything amiss in its terms, to correct it, as Philip would concur in any resolution of theirs' ([7] §§ 21, 22). The speech was well received. It was probably on this occasion, when Python 'was pouring a flood of abuse' on the Athenians, that Demosthenes 'neither yielded nor gave way, but rose and answered him and betrayed not the rights of the commonwealth, so plainly convicting Philip of injustice, that his very allies rose up and acknowledged it' (18 § 136). In the spirit of Python's suggestion, Hégēsippus proposed in place of the clause, 'that each party should have what they actually had,' to read 'that each party should have their own'; also that the Greeks in general, and not only the allies of Athens and Philip, should be included in the Peace. He was accordingly sent at the head of an embassy, to lay these two amendments before Philip. The first of these implied the restoration of Amphipolis, Pydna and Poteidaea, which he had held for at least thirteen years; also the forts in Thrace, which he had

captured three years before this date ; and lastly the little island of Halonnésus (probably the low-lying and desolate islet, with a small but good harbour, 20 miles NW of Scyros), an Athenian possession seized by pirates and (perhaps in 352) recaptured by Philip, who had since kept it in his own hands. It also implied a claim for the recovery of certain portions of the Chersonesus within the isthmus, where Philip had been encroaching, and in particular the territory of Cardia, which had been recognised as an independent ally of Philip in the Peace of Philocrates, but which had since been claimed in part by Athenian settlers. The embassy was ill received and nothing came of it.

Negotiations were, however, resumed early in 342, when Philip wrote a Letter to Athens renewing his complaints about the hostility of certain public speakers at Athens, and touching on the following points. (1) He declined to *restore* Halonnésus, but offered to *give* it to Athens, and was even ready to submit the question to arbitration ; (2) he allowed his envoys to arrange a treaty for the administration of justice between individual Athenians and Macedonians, reserving to himself the right of ratifying the treaty ; (3) he proposed that Athens and himself should unite in keeping the Aegean clear of pirates ; (4) he declared that the first amendment to the effect that 'each party should hold its own' had not been accepted by his envoys in the preceding year ; (5) he accepted the other amendment, extending the benefits of the Peace to all the Greeks ; (6) he stated that, as to his 'repeated promises of doing important services to Athens,' he had been misrepresented, as he had never promised Athens anything ; (7) he offered to submit to arbitration the question

as to the places taken during the Peace; (8) he had already restored to Athens all her citizens whom he had captured during the war; (9) he held that the Athenians ought to submit to arbitration their claim to Cardia; if Cardia refused, he would compel it; (10) if they would trust his friends and advocates and punish his calumniators, he would do them great services.

Philip's Letter was the subject of an important debate at Athens. Our knowledge of its contents is derived from a closely reasoned speech Ἡγησίππου in reply by an Athenian envoy, which ^{περὶ} Δαλονήσου may be ascribed with practical certainty 342 B.C. to Hégésippus, though it happens to have come down to us among the speeches of Demosthenes (Or. [7]). Demosthenes, who had not been one of the envoys, took part in the debate, pointing out the practical impossibility of finding an impartial judge in the proposed arbitration between Philip and Athens (Aeschin. 3 § 83). As regards Halonnésus, the result was that the Athenians declined to accept the cession of the island as a favour, while they continued to claim its restitution as their right.

About May 342 Philip, leaving his son Alexander, who was now fifteen years of age, under the care of Aristotle, started with a strong force for Thrace, with a view to checking the incursions of the Odrysian chief, Cersobleptes. At Cardia he made the acquaintance of Eumenes, who thenceforth became his private secretary, and was afterwards one of the generals of Alexander. Near the mouth of the Hebrus he probably left a Macedonian garrison at Aenos ([58] § 37), and, marching up the river, defeated the *Odrysian Thracians* in more than one engagement.

Philip in
Thrace
342 B.C.

The fame of his victories crossed the Haemus ; and the king of the Getæ came from the region between that range of mountains and the Danube, and gave Philip many gifts and his daughter to wife. On the Hebrus he captured one position after another, and passed the winter there amid many hardships (8 § 44). The expedition lasted more than ten months. The positions captured by Philip were fortified with a view to the permanent occupation of the country. Colonies, serving partly as military posts and partly as convict settlements for mining and agriculture, were planted in the interior. The most important of these were Philippopolis, named after Philip himself, on the upper Hebrus, and Cabyle on one of its eastern tributaries. During this expedition Philip himself was taken ill (7 § 36), and the losses sustained by him made it necessary to send for reinforcements from Macedonia and Thessaly (8 § 36). In his next campaign he superseded the chieftains of Thrace, fortified Apollonia on the Euxine, perhaps even crossed the Haemus and made a treaty at Odëssus (*Varna*) and then returned to the south to deal with his former allies, Perinthus and Byzantium.

Meanwhile, Athens had not been neglecting her interests on the Thracian coast. In 342 she sent a body of mercenaries to Thasos, as advised by Demosthenes, who himself went as trierarch to that island. The triremes were under the command of Chares, who had already seen service in that region. Athens had also been strengthening her long connexion with the Thracian Chersonesus. That peninsula forms the western shore of the Hellespont and extends for 52 miles from its most southern point to an isthmus about four

or five miles in breadth. In the time of Peisistratus, Miltiades son of Cypselus was offered the rule by its Thracian inhabitants and proceeded thither with a body of Athenian emigrants. To repress the incursions of a neighbouring tribe, he built a wall across the isthmus from Pactya on the Hellespont to Cardia on the Aegean (Herod. vi 34-39). It was from Cardia that his nephew of the same name, the future hero of Marathon, fled from the Phoenician fleet of Darius, when all the cities of Chersonesus, except Cardia, fell under the power of the Persian king (494). The Chersonesus was completely recovered by Cimon, the son of Miltiades. Under Pericles, 1000 colonists were sent there and the wall across the isthmus was repaired (Plut. *Pericles* 16). By the battle of Aegospotami, fought on its eastern shore (405), the Chersonesus, and much besides, was lost to Athens. In 398 the Spartan commander, Dercyllidas, built a new wall across the isthmus (Xen. *Hell.* iii 2, 8). In 363 the Athenian general, Timotheus, was enabled to recover possession of Sêstos and Crithôtê, and Athens was thus encouraged to claim once more the whole of the peninsula. The claim was opposed by the Thracian chief, Cotys, who in 361 recovered Sêstos but was assassinated soon afterwards (358). He was succeeded by his son Cersobleptes. In 357 the Athenian commander Chares was enabled to secure the surrender of the Chersonesus, through Charidêmus who was acting on behalf of Cersobleptes. At the instance of Charidêmus an exception was made in the case of Cardia, which was declared independent. About 353 Philip conceived the idea of forming an alliance with Cersobleptes and attacking the *Athenians in the Chersonesus*. In his first ex-

pedition into Thrace (352) he approached so near as to alarm the Athenian settlers in that peninsula (Aeschines 2 § 72), laid siege to Héraëum; roused the belated opposition of Athens and returned to his own kingdom. Shortly after the Peace of Philocrates (346), the Athenians sent a body of colonists to the Chersonesus under the leadership of Diopceithes of Sunium. He is not to be confounded with Diopceithes of Céphisia, the father of the comic poet Menander, a mistake which is made by the Scholiast on Demosthenes (p. 178, 3 Dind.) who ascribes the orator's interest in the cause of Diopceithes in 341) to his friendship for Menander who, being born in 342, was only an infant at the time. The new arrivals were generally welcomed, except at Cardia, which claimed to be independent and held that the Athenian settlers had no right to occupy any part of their own district. Philip urged the Athenians to refer the dispute to arbitration, but the suggestion was declined; and the colonists resolved on making good their claim by force. In this they were supported by Diopceithes, who had gathered a troop of mercenaries (8 § 9), which he was compelled to support on his own account as he received no supplies from Athens (8 § 22). With the few ships of war at his disposal he detained vessels of commerce plying between the western coast of Asia Minor and the Euxine, and levied contributions of money from the states to which they belonged as a condition of safe convoy and protection from the attacks of privateers and pirates. Such a practice was quite common with Athenian commanders on the Asiatic coast. He was also active on land with his mercenary troops. Philip had sent a force to Cardia which garrisoned the town. Diopceithes or

his part, during Philip's absence on the upper Hebrus, made an inroad into the nearer parts of Thrace which had been occupied by Philip (possibly the coast of the Propontis) and, before Philip could return, was safe in the Chersonesus with his booty. Indignant at this incursion, Philip informed the Athenians that he had sent troops to Cardia and would use force to repel any attack on the part of the mercenaries of Diopeithes, adding that he was at peace with those alone who were willing to obey his behests (9 § 27). Accordingly a debate was held in the Athenian Assembly on the position of affairs in the Chersonesus. Most of the speeches were on the doings of Diopeithes and even on his supposed intentions (8 § 2). At a meeting of the Council, at which Demosthenes and others were present among the general audience, a member of the Council urged that, for any practical proposal, the choice lay between absolute peace and actual war (8 § 4); there was no middle course. In the Assembly the same point was urged, and speakers took advantage of the general preference for peace and the natural reluctance against going to war. Diopeithes in particular was the theme of the bitterest complaints. It was urged that another commander ought to be sent out to keep him under control (8 § 28). While many speakers were for open war, others dwelt on the expense of supporting a large force of soldiers, and it was insinuated that certain persons wanted to 'plunder the treasury' (8 § 54). Philip's complaints were not without ground. The independence of Cardia was possibly a debateable point, and any attack on its territory on the part of Athens would be in accordance *with her public declarations*; but an inroad into the

neighbouring parts of Thrace was clearly a breach of the Peace, and, although Athens had never admitted Philip's right to that portion of Thrace, Diopheithes had no authority to act on the offensive. His only justification was to be found in the long course

of aggression on the part of Philip and in the necessity for finally defending the interests of Athens by force of arms.

It was during this debate that Demosthenes delivered his *Speech On the Chersonesus*.

IV *Analysis of the Speech On the Chersonesus*

Our deliberations ought always to turn solely on our real interests. The important point now is the state of affairs in the Chersonesus and Philip's campaign in Thrace, whereas most of the speeches have been about the acts, and even the intentions, of Diopheithes. The charges brought against him are open to consideration, either now or at some future time ; but our immediate interest requires us to be prompt in taking counsel and in making preparations against Philip who is hovering about the Hellespont. If we lose time now, we shall never recover our dominions in that region (1-3).

We are told that we ought to choose between peace and war (4). If Philip keeps the Peace, I agree with

that view, and I see every readiness on *your* part (5) ; but if, even before Diopheithes and our colonists set sail from Athens, Philip has robbed us of our possessions and is making vast preparations for attacking us (6), we have no choice except to defend ourselves (7). If they urge that, so long as Philip keeps aloof from Athens, he commits no hostility, this is inconsistent with their

complaints against Diopheithes. If Philip is allowed to

περὶ τῶν ἐν
Χερσονήσῳ
March 341 B.C.

A. ἀποφασίζων
(exordium).
Introduction
§§ 1-3.

B. ἀπεδιδόκει
(tractatio).
Discussion
§§ 4-75.

1 Preliminary
survey of the
situation
(δυσκίνητος
narratio).

1. Who is re-
sponsible for
infringing the
Peace?

do what he pleases, provided he does not invade Attica, why should not Diopeithes 'help the Thracians' (provided he does not invade Macedonia) (8)? Again, it is urged that Diopeithes is a freebooter, and that his troops should be disbanded. I see no objection, provided Philip is prepared to disband *his* troops also. Otherwise, with his standing army and his complete control of his own counsel, he will as usual surprise us, while we are making our hurried preparations when it is already too late (9-12). The real object of these complaints is to keep us at home and leave Philip free to do what he pleases (13). He is waiting in Thrace for reinforcements; should he besiege Byzantium, the latter would welcome our aid, which we could not give, unless we have a force on the spot (14, 15). What if he were to attack the Chersonesus, or even Chalcis or Megara? Would it not be better to keep him busy in Thrace, rather than allow him to reach our own borders? (18). So far from disbanding the mercenaries of Diopeithes, we ought to provide a fresh force ourselves (19); if we were to disband them, we should be doing exactly what Philip would desire (20).

Instead of contributing to a war-tax and serving in person, and refraining from receiving grants from the festival-fund, we carp at Diopeithes and inquire about his supposed intentions. We are unwilling to keep to our own concerns, but, while with our lips we approve a spirited policy, in our acts we play into the hands of Philip. If you will neither serve in person and support Diopeithes, nor keep to your own concerns, I know not what to say (21-23). If the supplies which Diopeithes (like others before him) receives as 'benevolences' for protecting the commerce of the Greek cities on the Asiatic coast, are prohibited, he must disband his force. Those at Athens who criticise even his future intentions, *practically cut off all his supplies* (24-27). The same

2. *The attitude of the Athenians towards their present duty.*
§§ 21-27.

would be the effect of sending a second commander to the Hellespont with troops and triremes to keep Diopieithes in check. If he is doing wrong, the proper course is to impeach and recall him ; troops and triremes must be used against our enemies and not against ourselves (28, 29). Still more serious than the conduct of these critics is that of the Assembly itself. If any speaker says that one of your commanders is the cause of your calamities, you at once approve (30) ; but, if he says that *Philip* is the real cause, you are annoyed, although you cannot contradict it (31). Certain of your statesmen have made you severe and formidable in your Assemblies alone, but feeble and contemptible in your preparations for war. You are glad to punish any commander who is in your own control, but you are confounded and pained at the thought of punishing one whom (like Philip) you cannot punish without conquering him first (32). If you do not act yourselves, you have no right to warn the Greeks to take precautions against Philip (35-37).

I am asked what we must do. I answer don't do what you are now doing (38). ¶ Be assured that Philip is

II *The orator's
advice.*
πρόθεσις
(propositio).
§§ 38-47.

at war with us and has broken the Peace, that he is the deadly enemy of your state, even of his own partisans, and, above all, of your free constitution ; and that all his operations are directed against Athens. In all the hardships which he undergoes in Thrace, he is aiming at being master of Athens and all her vast resources (43-45).

III *πίστις*
(probatio).
Proofs in
support of
this advice.
§§ 48-51.

Therefore you must keep up the existing force in the Chersonesus. You will thus compel Philip to keep the Peace and remain at home, or you will fight him on equal terms (46, 47). No sacrifice can be too great for the honour of Athens and for the freedom of Greece (48-51).

Those who speak in praise of peace, ought to ensure *Philip's* keeping the Peace (52, 53). The real burden is

not what we spend on our own security, but what we shall suffer, if we spend nothing. 'Waste of our resources' will be prevented by our forming a plan for preventing their being squandered, and not by abandoning our interests. Those who are so distressed about our resources, ought to be really distressed at Philip's aggressions in every part of Greece, in the course of his designs against you (52-55). Why do certain persons denounce as authors of war any who advise you to oppose Philip, while they never call Philip an author of war when he is openly in arms? Their aim is that, if you suffer in the war, your anger may be turned against your honest counsellors and not against Philip, and that they may themselves appear as accusers instead of paying the penalty of their conduct. I am sure that, while no Athenian has yet moved a declaration of war, Philip has many of our possessions and has lately sent succour to Cardia. If, however, we ourselves wish to pretend that he is not at war with us, it would be very foolish of him to convince us of our mistake (56-58). Even when Philip actually attacks us, he will assure us that he is not at war, just as he did with Oreos, with Pherae, and with Olynthus. Are we then to declare that those who bid us act in self-defence are authors of war? If so, the only lot left open to us is that of slavery. To slavery Philip knows we will not submit, and therefore he seeks not to subdue, but to exterminate us (59, 60). His partisans in Athens must be punished: you cannot overcome your enemies abroad, until you have punished your enemies at home.

IV Λύσις
(refutation).
Refutation of
opponents,
 §§ 52-75.

Why does Philip insult and threaten you, while, in deceiving others (such as the Thessalians, Olynthians and Thebans), he renders them service? Because in Athens alone is it safe to speak for the enemy, whereas it was not safe at Olynthus, in Thessaly, or at Thebes, unless they severally gained certain advantages from Philip. *Meanwhile at Athens it is safe, though Philip has robbed*

you of your possessions and is menacing you in Euboea and is advancing to the attack of Byzantium (61-66). By your neglect of these matters, Philip and his partisans have become prosperous, while *you* are dishonoured and destitute (66, 67). His partisans wish you to keep the Peace, but are ever restless themselves (67). They taunt me with cowardice for declining to accept the risk and responsibility of making a motion. I reply that I am more courageous than these head-strong politicians. True courage is shown by one who, in acting for the best, often thwarts your wishes ; who never speaks to win your favour but always to promote your interests ; and who, while adopting a line of policy dependent on fortune even more than on forethought, accepts the responsibility for both. My main service to the state is that I continue to offer counsel by which, while I am inferior to others in your regard, you (if you follow it) would be greater than you are. The state should grow with the growth of the counsels of good citizens. It is the duty of all to recommend the course which is most salutary, not which is most easy. To the easier path Nature will herself incline : it requires the good citizen, by means of argument and advice, to lead his audience to the path of safety (68-72).

It is objected that I am a man of *words*, who is always speaking for the best, whereas the state calls for *deeds*. I answer that he who advises you has no other duty to do, except 'speaking for the best,'—'his *word* is his *work*' (73). When Timotheus made a speech, calling on you to go to the rescue of Euboea, it was *he* that *spoke*, and *you* that *acted*, and thus the deed was done. For deeds you must look to yourselves : to the orator you must look for the best advice in his power (74, 75).

To sum up, you must pay a war-tax, keep up the *οἰκονομία* present force, correct any abuses ; send
(*peroratio*) envoys everywhere, to instruct, to warn,
Recapitulation and to act ; and punish those who receive
and Conclusion. bribes in matters of public policy. If you thus attend to

your affairs, perhaps even yet they may improve : whereas if you sit idle, eager only to acclaim and to applaud, I cannot see that any kind of speech, apart from your own action, can possibly save the state (76).

The title of the Speech is suggested by a phrase in the *exordium* : *περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πραγμάτων* (§ 2). Dionysius implies that the date is 342-1 B.C.¹ Philip is now in the eleventh month of a campaign (§ 2) which had probably been begun in the spring of the previous year (342). It is still winter in Thrace (§§ 44, 45), but elsewhere the summer is at hand (§ 18), though the Etesian winds of July have not yet begun to blow (§ 14). The Speech may therefore be assigned to March, 341 B.C.

As regards the orator's argument on Diopieithes, it is observed by Thirlwall that :—

'There can be no doubt that he had given cause for just complaint, and that in his invasion of Thrace, at least, if not in his hostilities with Cardia, he had violated both the letter and the spirit of the treaty with Philip. . . How far Demosthenes was misled by the fallacy of his own reasoning, which appears to a modern reader flagrantly sophistical, we cannot determine.'²

The Speech has been attacked on the ground of its consisting of a series of refutations of a number of arguments which had been, or might be, urged on the other side. Two long passages (§§ 38-51 and §§ 52-67) are included in the *Fourth Philippic* (§§ 11-27 and 55-70), and it has been suggested that they have wrongly been inserted in the Speech

¹ *ad Ammaetum* i 10 (archonship of Sosigenes), *ἐφ' οὗ διελέλυθε περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στρατιωτῶν, ἵνα μὴ διαλυθῇ τὸ μετὰ Διοπείθους ξενικόν.*

² *c.* 45 (vi 36).

On the Chersonesus, where the second passage has (it is alleged) an awkward beginning in § 52 and an abrupt ending in § 67.¹ But the omission of these portions would be no improvement. The imaginary protest of the Greeks in §§ 34–37 cannot fitly be followed immediately by the orator's vindication of himself in §§ 68–72; and the recapitulation in § 76 includes references to the very portions which it is proposed to omit.² § 52 is really a skilful transition to the next portion of the Speech, and the reference to the restless opponents of Demosthenes at the end of § 67 leads up to the immediately subsequent vindication of the orator whom they denounce as wanting in moral courage.³ The *Fourth Philippic*, besides containing a passage on the festival-fund utterly at variance with the known opinions of Demosthenes ([10] §§ 35–45), includes a collection of genuine passages of Demosthenes belonging to various dates which were probably found among his papers by an editor who skilfully combined them in an approximately consecutive speech.⁴ The form in which the second of the two long passages appears in the *Fourth Philippic* has even been considered more highly finished than the corresponding passage in the Speech *On the Chersonesus*,⁵ and the 'variations and additions' in the *Fourth Philippic* are regarded by Lord Brougham as improvements on what he describes as 'perhaps the most magnificent of the minor works'⁶ of Demosthenes. He also recognises the Speech *On the Chersonesus* as

¹ Spengel *Δημηγ.* pp. 101 f.

² *χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν φημι δεῖν* refers to § 46; and *τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας κολάζειν* to § 61 and the context (Weil p. 362²).

³ Blass *Att. Ber.* III i 372².

⁴ Weil p. 366²; Blass p. 392².

⁵ 8 §§ 52–67 = [10] §§ 55–70; Weil p. 363².

⁶ *Works* vii p. 11.

'certainly the most argumentative of the whole (of the orations against Philip) and, as it seems, the finest in all respects.'¹ In the Introduction to his Translation he calls it an 'inimitable speech. . . It unites all the great qualities of his prodigious eloquence in a remarkable degree. . . In point of argument and conciseness, and when judged by the severest rules of criticism, it has no superior.'² In the Appendix to his Translation of the *De Corona* he adds that Lord Lyndhurst, 'on reading some of the notes where particular passages are pointed out as well adapted to succeed in our Senate,' remarked 'that the whole oration is eminently of that description.'³

V The Third Philippic

The *Third Philippic* is assigned by Dionysius to the same Attic year as the Speech *On the Chersonesus*. It was probably delivered a few weeks later, in May, 341 B.C. It has some- κατὰ
φιλίσπου γ'
May 341 B.C. times been supposed that it was the earlier of the two Speeches. The *Third Philippic*, it has been contended, describes Philip's Thracian expedition as still in the future (9 § 17 ἐπὶ Θράκην παριόντα), and Philip as still at home (§ 51 ὅπως οἰκοθεν μὴ κινήσεται σκοποῦντας),⁴ but the sense of the latter passage is quite consistent with an actual invasion of Thrace. It is in fact the same as in 8 § 18 (κατασκευάζειν ἐκεῖ τιν' ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ), both passages implying that Athens must keep Philip from leaving the regions of the North. He has already started for the Hellespont (9 § 27) and is now advancing against Byzantium (§ 34). Nor again do the

¹ p. 54.

² p. 73.

³ p. 110.

⁴ Zimmermann, Voemel and Droysen, ap. ASpengel ii 468² n.

words ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα<ς> κατασκευάζοντα (§ 17) prove that tyranny is only just being established in that island: it is *already* established (§ 27). The priority of the Speech *On the Chersonesus* is confirmed by the way in which an appeal for help from Byzantium is regarded as a future contingency in 8 § 14 whereas in 9 § 20 it has become a practical question. It is still more strongly proved by the fact that, whereas in the *Second Philippic* the orator admits that 'public speakers shrink from their duty of moving and advising for fear of the displeasure of their audience' (6 § 3), in the Speech *On the Chersonesus* he goes so far as to give formal advice (8 § 76), but declines to move any definite resolution (§ 68), while in the *Third Philippic* he has finally reached a further stage, having now the courage to make an actual motion (9 §§ 70, 76).¹

The general situation in the *Third Philippic* remains the same as in the Speech *On the Chersonesus*. Tyranny still holds sway in Euboea; Philip is still in Thrace, and is threatening the Chersonesus and Byzantium; but there is no longer any question of recalling or superseding Diopieithes. An appeal for supplies of money and other aid has come from the Chersonesus (§§ 73, 20). A debate is held, in which the perilous position of the Chersonesus and Byzantium is discussed (§§ 19 f.). While other speakers regard it as a controversial question, whether succours should be sent or not to Diopieithes and to the Chersonesus and Byzantium, Demosthenes insists that there is no longer any doubt on this point. All the Greeks are imperilled by the aggressions of Philip; and all the Greeks must be summoned to aid Athens to resist him. Such is the purport of

¹ Spengel *Δημωγ.* pp. 78 f.

the practical proposal submitted by Demosthenes in the present speech.

Analysis of The Third Philippic

Though many speeches have been made on the wrongs done by Philip ever since he obtained the Peace, our interests could not possibly be in a worse **A. προομιον** position than they now are (1). This is **(exordium).** **Introduction** mainly because of those speakers who prefer §§ 1-5. gratifying you to giving you the best advice (2). You must not be angry if, in speaking the truth, I use that freedom of speech, which is the right of all who live in Athens, but which is banished from the councils of the state (3). You allow yourselves to be flattered while your public interests are imperilled. If you will listen to one who will give you good advice without flattery, I am ready to speak. Though much has been lost, yet, if you will do your duty, all may be retrieved (4). The best ground of hope is the fact that matters are in a bad way while you have been entirely *neglecting* your duty. Philip has got the mastery over your idleness and negligence, but has not conquered your country: so far from having been defeated yourselves, you have not even stirred (5).

If we were all agreed that Philip is at war with us, we should only have to consider the safest way of resisting him. But, although he is the assailant, **B. ἀποδεδείχθαι** we are told in the Assembly that it is we **(tractatio).** **Discussion** who are kindling war, and any one who **§§ 6-75.** **I Preliminary** advises resistance, is liable to be accused as **survey of the** an author of the war (6, 7). If peace **situation.** **δυστυχίας** depends on ourselves, we ought to maintain **(narratio).** **§§ 6-20.** it; but if the other party pretends peace **1. Has Athens** and acts war, we must defend ourselves **any longer a** (8). Experience has shown that it is Philip's **free choice** policy to pretend to be at peace until the **between war and** moment when he openly declares war. It was so with **peace?**

Olynthus, Phocia, Pherae and Oreos (10-12). We may infer that he will never *proclaim* war against us; he will never allow his partisans to cease to assure you that *he* is not making war against you (13, 14). He is proved by his acts to have broken the terms of the Peace (15-17); and he is threatening, not Athens alone, but the whole of Greece (18-20).

When Athens, Sparta and Thebes were in their turn ^{2. All Greece is in the greatest peril. §§ 21-46.} supreme, they were watched by other states and kept under control. Philip, in plundering, pillaging and enslaving state after state, is allowed to treat the Greeks in a way in which the Greeks themselves were never allowed to treat one another (21-24). Athens and Sparta went to war to protect the minor states of Greece, whereas Philip has done far more wrong to the Greeks in less than thirteen years, than Sparta in her thirty, or Athens in her seventy, years of supremacy (25). He has wronged Olynthus and Apollonia and the thirty-two cities of Chalcidice; he has wronged Thessaly and Euboea; he has invaded the Hellespont; formerly he marched against Ambracia; he holds Elis; lately he had a design on Megara; his ambition cannot be contained within the bounds of Greece or the land of the Barbarian (26, 27). These injuries are due to the indifference and the divisions of Greece (28, 29); entrenched in their several cities, the Greeks are incapable of combining, or of helping one another; each is resolved on making the most of his own brief respite, while his neighbour perishes; though none is so far off as to escape the onslaught of Philip, like the inevitable attack of some intermittent fever. Our indignation is all the greater because we know that the wrongdoer is no true son of Greece, and is not even a barbarian of respectable origin (30, 31). To fill up the measure of his insolence, the destroyer of Greek cities presides over the Pythian Games (32), and takes precedence over the other members of the Amphictyonic Council; he is

master of Thermopylae, and arbiter of Thessaly and Euboea. Yet the Greeks look on as at a hailstorm, each of them praying that they may themselves be spared, without attempting to prevent it. He also wrongs with impunity the several states of Greece, the Corinthians, the Achaeans, the Thebans; he is threatening Byzantium; he is keeping us out of Cardia (33-35). We gaze on one another with a hesitating and a cowardly mistrust, instead of mistrusting the man that wrongs us all. The cause of this indifference is the general corruption (36-40), whereas, in the days of our forefathers, one who brought the gold of Persia into the Peloponnesus, was declared an outlaw by Athens (41-44). The result of such punishment was that Greece was formidable to the Barbarian, not the Barbarian to Greece (45). What are your sentiments about corruption and other matters *now*?

Shall I tell you and will
you not be angry?

* * * * *

You know yourselves, and the Greeks in general are no better. This is why the present situation calls for earnest attention and sound counsel (46).

Those who wish to reassure us, tell us that we are exaggerating Philip's power, adding that it is less than that of Sparta which we succeeded in resisting. The real danger lies in Philip's innovations in the good old style of conducting war. Instead of a straight-forward campaign, we have underhand corruption. We have all manner of troops opposing us; we have war in winter as well as in summer (47-50). Above all, we must keep Philip at a distance, and avoid a pitched battle, for which we are much less well prepared than for plundering and ravaging his territory in war (51, 52).

But before we can conquer our enemy abroad, we must punish his partisans at home. And yet, though *some of them* could not deny that they are hirelings, you

II The orator's
proposal, with
reasons in its
support.

πρωτὸς
(*probatio*).
§§ 47-55.

listen to them and laugh at what they say (54), and allow them greater immunity than those who speak in your own interests (55). The mischief of listening to the counsels of treason is proved by the precedents of Olynthus (56), Eretria (57, 58) and Oreos (59-62).

The cause of this evil is the fact that those who advise for the best cannot always gratify their audience, whereas their opponents advise what is agreeable and thus advance the interests of Philip (63). Better die a myriad deaths than flatter Philip (65). Glorious indeed has been the recompense received by the men of Oreos and Eretria, and the men of Olynthus (65, 66). It is foolish to listen to Philip's partisans and to trust to the magnitude of our city, instead of doing our duty with foresight for the future. Bitterly rued is the absence of this foresight by the men of Olynthus, of Oreos, of Phocis, and by the rest of those who were ruined (68). It is only as long as the ship is safe that every one in turn should do his part to prevent its being overturned, but, when once the waves have overwhelmed it, every effort is vain (69). We then, so long as we are safe, we with our magnificent city, our abundant resources, our lofty reputation, what are we to do? I shall tell you, and, what is more, I shall move a resolution, and you shall pass it, if you please. It is our duty to take the lead in defending ourselves and providing ourselves with ships of war, and money, and troops. *We* at least must fight for freedom (70). Next, we must send envoys to the Peloponnesus, to Chios and Rhodes, and even to Persia, in the hope of obtaining partners in our perils and in our expenditure, or (at the least) of gaining time (71). Such embassies were useful last year (72). While inviting the aid of others, you must protect yourselves and send supplies to the troops in the Chersonesus, besides summoning together and advising the Greeks in general in the way that befits the dignity of your state. You cannot leave it to the men of Chalcis and Megara to

save Greece, while you shirk the contest. That duty has been bequeathed to you by your ancestors as a privilege won at the cost of many and great perils (74).

Such then are the measures which I advise and formally propose. Adopt these measures, and it is my belief that our position may even yet be retrieved. If any one has better advice to offer, let him speak ; and may that which you are about to determine, be blessed by heaven to your advantage (76).

ο. ἐπιλογος
(peroratio).
Conclusio
§ 76.

The *Third Philippic* has a certain resemblance to the *Speech On the Chersonesus* ; but the same general situation of affairs is treated differently. In the first part of the *Speech*, the question whether Philip has broken the Peace is not formally argued ; it is rather illustrated by a series of incidents skilfully and impressively grouped, and in one case at least misrepresented (§ 15). In its later portion we have a powerful appeal to the feelings in the survey of the general position of Greece, in the inferences drawn from recent experience, and in the contrast between the present and the past. The *Speech* is far less concerned with the immediate demand for succours for the Chersonesus than with the general question of Hellenic policy. As compared with the immediately preceding *Speech*, the horizon is enlarged, and the outlook now includes the prospect of forming an alliance to oppose Philip with the aid of other states of Greece. As compared with all the other speeches of Demosthenes, it stands by the side of the *De Corona* and surpasses all the speeches in its panhellenic character. Dionysius describes it as the greatest of the harangues against Philip.¹ Lord Brougham has observed that the *Third*

¹ *Thuc.* 54.

Philippic especially abounds in passages of electric effect on the feelings; 'in fire and variety, indeed, it is surpassed by none of the lesser orations; and by some it is preferred to all the rest';¹ and the German commentator, Rehdantz, has characterised its closing words as the most perfectly simple and natural conclusion to the most powerful speech that was ever spoken.²

The sequel of the *Third Philippic* is soon told. In 341 Euboea was rescued from Philip by the united efforts of Athens, Chalcis, and Megara; and Demosthenes was sent as envoy to the Chersonesus and Byzantium, and succeeded in bringing the Byzantines into alliance with Athens. Early in 340 a league against Philip was formed by Athens in conjunction with Euboea, Achaia, Corinth, Leucas, Acarnania, Ambracia, and Corcyra. Philip's fleet sailed up the Hellespont, and, to support the fleet, his soldiers marched along the adjacent shore of the Chersonesus, thus invading Athenian territory. He besieged Perinthus on the Propontis, but without success; and in the autumn began the siege of Byzantium. The pillar on the Athenian acropolis recording the terms of the Peace of Philocrates was now removed, and the nominal peace, which had lasted for six years between Athens and Philip, was thus brought to an end. Demosthenes was appointed superintendent of the navy, and used his influence to carry an important reform in the arrangements for the trierarchy, whereby the cost of providing vessels of war was more equitably distributed. In 339 Philip, who had failed in his protracted siege of Byzantium, readily accepted the invitation of the

¹ *Works* vii 200, cp. 53 f.

² Note on § 76, Hermann Op. i 88.

Amphictyons to take the lead in a new Sacred War which had broken out against the Locrians of Amphissa. Marching through Thermopylae, he seized Elateia, while he assured the Thebans that it was his purpose to attack Athens. Demosthenes now attained one of the highest successes of his public career in persuading the Thebans to join Athens in resisting Philip, and also in carrying a resolution at Athens for applying the festival-fund to the purposes of war. In 338 Philip took Amphissa, and in August of the same year completely defeated Athens and Thebes at Chaeroneia. The funeral oration over the Athenians who fell in the battle was delivered by Demosthenes.

Philip was assassinated in 336. Early in the same year, it was proposed by Ctésiphôn to present Demosthenes with a golden crown in recognition of his services to Athens and to crown him in the theatre at the festival of the Great Dionysia. This proposal was attacked by Aeschines, but the case did not come on for trial until 330. The Speech of Aeschines *Against Ctésiphôn* was followed by the greatest of all the speeches of Demosthenes, that *On the Crown*. Aeschines failed to obtain a fifth part of the votes, and left Athens for Rhodes. The 'affair of Harpalus' and the exile of Demosthenes belong to the year 324. In 323 Alexander died, and in the same year Demosthenes was triumphantly recalled from exile; but in 322 the hopes of Greece were finally crushed by the battle of Crannôn, and in the autumn of that year the temple of Poseidôn in the island of Calaurcia off the coast of Epidaurus saw the death of Demosthenes.

περὶ τοῦ
στεφάνου
330 π.χ.

All the long efforts which the foremost orator of

the time had made to rouse the public spirit of his country and incite her citizens to personal service, and to unite the states of Greece against the aggressions of Philip, had ended in failure. But the cause to which he devoted his remarkable powers as a speaker was inspired by the truest patriotism, and in one of the noblest passages of the greatest of his speeches he avowed his continued loyalty to that cause, even when it had finally failed. 'If the events of the future had been foreknown to all, if all had foreseen them, not even in that case was it the duty of Athens to desist from her design, if indeed she had any regard for her glory, or for her past, or for the ages to come. As it is, she appears to have failed in her enterprise, but all mankind are liable to failure, when such is the will of Heaven; but, in the other event, if she who claimed the foremost place in Greece, had abandoned that position to Philip, she would have incurred the reproach of having betrayed the interests of all the Greeks' (18 §§ 199 f.). Of all the political speeches delivered by Demosthenes during the years when his influence was at its highest between the declaration of war with Philip and the battle of Chaeroneia, not one has survived. Their immediate success made it unnecessary to perpetuate them. Meanwhile, the eight Philippic orations, including the *Three Olynthiacs*, the *Three Philippics*, and the *Speeches On the Peace* and *On the Chersonesus*, delivered during the ten years in which the orator was slowly attaining a commanding position in the counsels of the state, were repeatedly reproduced at the time with a view to the formation of a strong body of public opinion on the side which the orator had at heart. *They thus owe their preservation to the fact that*

(with the exception of the *Speech On the Peace*) they were not crowned by any immediate practical success. But it is on these eight speeches that the orator's reputation as a deliberative speaker mainly rests, and he has thus found his ultimate compensation for a period of comparative failure in the fact that the *Eight Philippics* have in no small measure contributed towards the perpetuation of his undying fame. He has supplied a new illustration of the lines of the transatlantic poet:—

'So failure wins; the consequence
Of loss becomes its recompense.'¹

VI *The Textual Criticism of the Third Philippic*

The text of the *Third Philippic* presents us with a peculiar problem. It has come down to us in two forms, the shorter being represented mainly but not entirely by the Paris ms S, and the longer by almost all the other mss. The additional matter, though omitted in the body of S, is (except in § 20) added in the margin, once in an early hand, but generally either in a hand of cent. xii or of cent. xiv or xv. In the present volume, as in the text of Blass, the additions are distinguished by the use of smaller type. They are as follows, and the date of all the passages added in S is given in each instance:—

- § 2 (cent. xii) οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἡμᾶς οἴονται δεῖν ἔχειν.
 §§ 6, 7 (cent. xii) εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες—πολεμεῖν δεῖ.
 § 20 καὶ τοῖς οἷσιν ἐκεῖ νῦν στρατιώταις πάνθ' ὅσων ἂν δέωνται ἀποστέλλαι.
 § 25 (cent. xiv) καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ βραχείος λόγον ῥῆδιον δεῖξαι.
 § 32 (cent. xiv) κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν—ἅπασι μετεσσι;
 § 37 (cent. xv) οἷδ' ἐν ποικίλῳ οἷδ' ἐν σοφόν.

¹ Whittier *The Seeking of the Waterfall* p. 429a of Moxon's ed.

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- § 37 (cent. xv) καὶ παραίτησις οὐδεμὶ ἦν οὐδὲ συγγνώμη.
 § 39 (cent. xv) συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχόμενοις.
 § 41 (cent. xiv) οὐχ ἔν' αὐτοῖς ἢ χρήσιμα—τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα;
 § 44 (cent. xii) (after ἤμελλεν) ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει (omitted by Blass) and ἀλλ' εὐαγὲς ἢ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι.
 § 46 (early hand) ἴστ' αὐτοί.—βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα προσδεῖσθαι. τίνος.
 § 58 (cent. xii) τότε μὲν πέμψας τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυλόχου ξένους, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Παρμενίωνος.
 § 71 (cent. xiv) πανταχοῖ, εἰς Ἱεροπόλιν—καταστρέψασθαι.

There are also passages added by an early hand in the margin of **S** in § 54 (after ποιῆσαι) οὐδὲ βούλεσθε, in § 64 (after σωθήσεσθαι) προσῆσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται (omitted in most mss), and in § 65 (after ἐνόν) καὶ τοὺς εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπάγοντας ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν οὐκ ὀρρωδῶ, ἀλλὰ δυσωποῦμαι· ἡ γὰρ ἐξεπίτηδες ἢ δι' ἄγνοίαν εἰς χαλεπὸν πρᾶγμα ὑπάγουσι τὴν πόλιν (omitted by B O Y etc., but recognised by Harpocration s.v. δυσωποῦμαι and ὑπάγουσιν). These last three additions have been generally rejected, but none of the rest met with any objections on the part of editors, even after Bekker's collation of **S** for his edition of 1822 revealed the fact that they were omitted in the body of that ms and only added in the margin.

The problem of these additions was first attacked by LSpengel in 1839.¹ He contended that the additions were entirely in the manner of Demosthenes, and suggested that they represented a longer version of the speech drawn up by the orator himself. He thus started what may be briefly described as the theory of a *double redaction* of the speech on the part of Demosthenes.² Others suggested that the additions were due to some rhetorician shortly after the orator's own times,—a suggestion

¹ 6 July, *Abhandl. d. b. Akad.* iii i pp. 155-197.

² Spengel's own word is *recension*, but this is open to misunderstanding.

resembling that since made in 1882, ascribing the additions to some of the surviving friends and pupils of the orator, one of whom may have edited the *Third* and *Fourth Philippics* apart from the Speech *On the Chersonesus* but with large quotations from the latter.¹ Dindorf in 1849² thought it probable that the longer version was the original, and that it was abridged at an early date by a rhetorician who reduced the speech to the shortened form preserved in S; but he admitted that an abbreviator would doubtless have omitted more, and at the same time would have retained certain proper names (in § 58) which are omitted.

Spengel attacked the problem afresh in 1856 when he stated his opinion in a more definite form. He held that the additions made by Demosthenes in the original draft of the speech were transcribed by some of the subsequent copyists and omitted by others; hence arose the longer and the shorter versions of the speech. The additions which he then accepted as genuine were those above quoted from §§ 6 and 7, §§ 20, 32, 41, 46, 58, and 71, and also the following:—in § 65 (after Φιλίπποι) καὶ προέσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινάς, and in § 72 (after 'Ηγήσιππος) καὶ Κλειτόμαχος καὶ Λυκούργος. He passes in silence over the additions in §§ 25, 54, 65 and in § 75 (after γένηται) εἰ γὰρ ἴσαν, εἴρηγν' ἂν πάλα, ἐνεκά γε τοῦ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶν, which, if retained at all, should (as Dobree suggested) be placed after ποιήσοντας. These four passages he had accepted as Demosthenic in his former paper.

Spengel's second paper was not published until 1860.³ In March of the same year FSchultz, a schoolmaster in Berlin, published the results of his collation of certain MSS of Demosthenes, which he had examined in Italy during

¹ WChrist *Abhandl. d. b. Akad.* xvi 3 cap. 6.

² ed. Oxon. v 178.

³ *Die Demagogie des Dem.* (München) 1860.

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the summer of the previous year.¹ He announced his discovery of a MS in the Laurentian Library in Florence, which agreed remarkably with the Paris MS S, but was not copied from it. The MS was assigned to cent. xiii and is now known as L. The additions to the text of the *Third Philippic* in the margin of S are also found in the margin of L in § 2, §§ 6, 7, §§ 25, 32, 37, 39, 41, 44, 46 and 58 (the MS ends with the word *ἰσως* in § 70). The passage in § 20 is entirely omitted in L, as in S. Schultz rejects all the additions except that in § 58, on which he finds it difficult to arrive at a decision. All are similarly rejected by Funkhanel (1840), Baiter and Sauppe (1841), Franke (1850) and Westermann (1851 etc.). Bekker, in his stereotyped edition (1854), retains the additions in §§ 6, 7 and in § 58, brackets that in § 32, and omits the rest. Voemel (1857) retains only those in §§ 6, 7 and in § 58 and § 71. Rehdantz in 1858² retained the same three passages and also those in § 2 and § 46. Of these five additions in S, three are in a hand of cent. xii (those in § 2; §§ 6, 7; and § 58), while that in § 46 is in an early hand, and that in § 71 in a hand of cent. xiv. Rehdantz was to some extent supported in this view by Dräiske,³ who published in 1874 an elaborate disquisition, in which he opposed Spengel's theory of a double redaction, and endeavoured to prove that all the additions in S in a hand of cent. xii (i.e. the four or five passages in §§ 2, 6 and 7, 44, 58) were genuine, and that the rest, whether of earlier date as § 46, or later date as §§ 25, 32, 41, 71 (cent. xiv) and §§ 37, 39 (cent. xv), were spurious. (In his rejection of the addition in § 46 he agreed with Drewes, 1866-8, and was approved by Nitzsche.) But in the very same year in which this defence and further extension of Rehdantz' opinion was published, Rehdantz himself gave up all the additions

¹ *De codicibus quibusdam Demosthenicis ad orationem Philippicam tertiam nondum adhibitis.*

² *Jahrb. f. cl. Philol.* 1858 p. 568.

³ *Ibid. suppl.* vol. vii 99-187.

except those in §§ 6, 7 and § 46. He also argued against the theory of a double redaction.

This theory had meanwhile been revived by Weil in an article published in 1870.¹ It was further emphasised in his editions of the *Harangues* in 1873 and 1881. It was applied to the explanation of the additions in §§ 6, 7 and § 46, and to the pair of parallel passages in § 37 and § 39. On this theory all the mss, except **S** and **L**, to whatever family they might belong, must have been ultimately derived from a transcript of an original ms which contained one of the two redactions in the *text* and the variants of the other redaction in the *margin*. Most of these variants were simply additions; but a few were parallel or alternative versions of the same passage. The transcriber combined the readings which he found in the margin with those in the text, and the transcript thus produced was the source of the common or 'vulgar' text. On the other hand, the original ms which was the ultimate source of **S** and **L** contained only the shorter of the two redactions; or possibly (if it was a ms resembling the original of the transcript on which the vulgate was founded) it may have included certain marginal notes which were omitted by the transcriber.² The shorter version in § 44 is followed by Harpocration (s.v. ἀριμος), who agrees with the text of **S** in omitting ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει and ἀλλ' εὐαγές ἢ τὸ ἀποκτείνειν. Similarly the addition in § 37, οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφὸν ἀλλὰ ὅτι, is omitted by Aristeides³ (though it is apparently imitated by him elsewhere).⁴ There is also reason to believe that the shorter of the two redactions, that preserved in the text of **S** and **L**, corresponds to the text of Demosthenes adopted by the Alexandrine critics whose enumeration of the number of στίχοι is

¹ *Jahrb. f. d. Philol.* 1870 pp. 535 f.

² Weil *Harangues* p. 314².

³ ix 347, 353 Walz; also Anon. in viii 629.

⁴ i 399 Dind.; also by Themistius 362 Dind., Libanius iv 4, 17 and Isidore of Pelusium iii p. 274 (Rehdantz-Blass p. 135).

recorded at the end of the speeches in several of our MSS (S F B and Aug. 3).¹ It is doubtful whether *στίχοι* means rhetorical clauses (*κῶλα*) or lines of writing; but the difference is immaterial for the present purpose. The number of *στίχοι* assigned to the *Third Philippic* is 580, a little less than that assigned to the *Speech On the Chersonesus*, 590. In correspondence with these numbers, the version of the *Third Philippic* in S and L is a little shorter than the *Speech On the Chersonesus*; whereas in the 'vulgar' text it is distinctly longer. Again, the number of *στίχοι* in the *Third Philippic* (580) is exactly double that of the *Second Philippic* (290), and the *Second Olynthiac* (290²); and this is only true of the shorter version of our Speech. In Baiter and Sauppe's text the *Second Philippic* contains 267 lines of print, and the *Third* (in the shorter version) 530, little less than the exact double 534. Again, in the present volume, the *Second Philippic* has 291 lines; the double of this is 582, but the *Third Philippic* (in the longer version) has 623, and the difference 41 is only one or two lines more than the total of the passages in small print, thus showing that these passages were not included in the Alexandrine text.

The theory of a double redaction is accepted by Blass (1893), who points out that the additions are such as no late interpolator could have had the skill to supply, and that, but for their absence in the text of S and L, they would not have excited the suspicion of any modern critic. He also cites as a parallel the indications of a double redaction in the *Speech against Meidias*, and states that, in point of rhythm, the additions bear the stamp of being composed by Demosthenes.³

The shorter and longer versions are in four passages alternative to one another and may be exhibited in parallel columns, thus :

¹ WChrist *Abhandl. d. b. Akad.* xvi 3, 1882, cap. 6; *AJP* iv 142.

² v.l. 295. The average length of the *στίχοι* corresponded closely to that of the lines in this edition.

³ *Att. Ber.* iii i 379² f.

§ 8

εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν
εἰρήνην ἀγεῖν τῇ πόλει
καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο,
ἴν' ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξω-
μαι, φῆμ' ἐγὼ γ' ἀγεῖν
ἡμᾶς δεῖν.

§§ 6, 7

εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦμεν Φίλιπ-
πον τῇ πόλει πολεμεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην
παραβαίνειν κτλ. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον
ἅπάντων λέγω καὶ διορίζομαι· εἰ ἐφ'
ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ βουλευέσθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶτερον
εἰρήνην ἀγεῖν ἢ πολεμεῖν δεῖ, <φῆμ'
ἐγὼ γ' εἰρήνην ἀγεῖν> ἡμᾶς δεῖν.

It seems natural to suppose that here the shorter version was the orator's first draft and corresponds to the speech as actually delivered; and that the longer version is a second draft, possibly written in view of the subsequent publication of the speech. When Demosthenes revised his speech, possibly at a time when war had already broken out, he may have felt it desirable to meet the criticisms of his opponents in more definite terms, and to emphasise the fact that he had not provoked the war.¹ But if, instead of regarding the longer passage as an *alternative*, we regard it as a proposed *addition* on the orator's part, then we must not only strike out εἰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν—πολεμεῖν δεῖ, but also the previous sentence ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἅπάντων—διορίζομαι, the sense of both these sentences having already been expressed in the shorter draft.

§ 37 τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄρχειν βουλομένων ἢ διαφθεῖρειν
τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν,
καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντ' ἐλεγχθῆναι,

καὶ τιμωρὰ μεγίστη τοῦτον ἐκόλαζον. | καὶ παῖραίτησις οὐδεμί'
ἦν οὐδὲ συγγνώμη.

§ 39 ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἰληφέν τι· γέλως,
ἂν ὁμολογῇ·

συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχομένοις· | μῖσος, ἂν τοῖς ἐπιτιμα-
τᾶλλα πάνθ' ὅσ' ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἦρτηται.

In these two passages the two clauses in spaced type,

¹ Weil (p. 538²) would thus explain even the anachronism in § 65,
καὶ προσῆσαι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινάς.

in which *συγγνώμη* is mentioned, correspond to one another; but, if they are inserted, we not only have a series of *four* clauses which is less effective than the customary series of *three*, but we also have to pass from the masculine *ἐλεγχόμενοις* to the neuter *τοῖτοῖς*. Thus in each of the two passages we have a clause which is not meant as an *addition* but as an *alternative* to that immediately before it in § 37 and to that after it in § 39. Both of the clauses in spaced type may be regarded as after-thoughts. They may have been due to the desire of making a pointed reference to the acquittal of Aeschines owing to the intercession of Eubulus, when he was charged with corruption on the Second Embassy.

§ 45 ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβέρ, οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν.
(§ 46) ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ' ἡμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτ' οὔτε πρὸς τάλλα, ἀλλὰ πῶς;

εἶπω κελεύετε, καὶ οὐκ ὀργεῖσθε;

ἴστ' αὐτοί· τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν κατηγορεῖν; παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν ἅπαντες οἱ λοιποὶ Ἕλληνες. διόπερ φῆμ' ἔγωγε καὶ σπουδῆς πολλῆς καὶ βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα προσδεῖσθαι. [τίνος;]

(§ 47) ἔστι τοίνυν τις εἰρήθης λόγος . . ὥς κτλ.

Here the shorter version may have been the first draft, followed by some scathing sentences recalling the recent indifference of Athens either to corruption on the part of her statesmen or to the interests of Greece as a whole. These sentences may have proved exasperating to the audience, as indeed the orator obviously expected; he may have accordingly omitted them after delivery, substituting for them the milder language of the version in which he leaves the question to their consciences, adding that, after all, they are no more to blame than the rest of the Greeks.

In these four passages we have clear indications of a double redaction, and there appears to be no sufficient

reason to doubt that, in each case, both of the alternative versions are due to Demosthenes himself. Similarly, most, if not all, of the additional clauses set forth on a previous page (pp. lix f.) ought probably to be ascribed to the same authorship. It would appear as though the last and the greatest of all the Philippic orations, which have descended to our own days, must have been revised with more than ordinary minuteness with a view to its circulation during the orator's life-time. The fact that the *Philippics* in general were thus circulated, is implied in the familiar story related of Philip. It is said that, when Philip was shown a copy of the speeches delivered against him by Demosthenes, he exclaimed :—"If I had heard Demosthenes delivering them, I should myself have voted for Demosthenes as leader in the war against me."¹

VII *List of the Principal Dates in the Life and Times of Demosthenes*

(The titles of the Speeches are printed in Italics)

- n.c.
 384 Birth of Demosthenes.
 382 Birth of Philip.
 363 Or. 27, 28, *Against Aphobus*.
 362 Or. 30, 31, *Against Onetor*.
 359 Or. 51, *On the Trierarchic Crown*; and ? Or. 41, *Against Spudias*; Or. 55, *Callicles*; Or. 54 *Conon*. Accession of Philip.
 357-5 The Social War.
 357 Philip takes Amphipolis and Pydna.
 356 Philip takes Poteidaia. Birth of Alexander.
 355 Outbreak of Phocian War. Or. 22, *Against Androtion*.
 354 Or. 20, *Against the Law of Leptines*. Or. 14, *On the Symmories*.
 354-39 Administration of Eubulus.

¹ *Pseudo-Plutarch Lives of the Ten Orators* 845 c.

lxviii DATES IN THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES

B.C.

353 Philip takes Methone.

353-2 Or. 16, *For the Megalopolitans*. Or. 24, *Against Timocrates*.

353 (or 351). Or. 15, *For the Rhodians*.

352 Or. 23, *Against Aristocrates*.

351 Or. 4, *The First Philippic*.

350 Or. 36, *For Phormion*; Or. 45, *Against Stephanus I.*

349 Or. 1, 2, 3, *The Three Olynthiacs*.

348 (Feb.) Expedition to Euboea; Phocion victorious at Tamynae. Or. 39, *Against Boeotus I.* (Summer) Olynthus betrayed to Philip.

347-6 Demosthenes a Member of the Council.

347 Or. 21, *Against Meidias*.

346 (April) The Peace of Philocrates. Philip master of Thermopylae; end of the Phocian war. Or. 5, *On the Peace*; Or. 37, *Against Pantacetus*; ! Or. 38, *Against Nausimachus*.

345 Or. 57, *Against Eubulides*.

344 Or. 6, *The Second Philippic*.

343 Philip's intrigues in Elis, Megara and Euboea. Or. 19, *On the Embassy*. Philip's progress in Epeirus checked by Athens; Philip in Thessaly. Proposals for amending the Peace of Philocrates.

342 Hegesippus *On Halonnesus* (Or. 7).

342 (May)-339 (Sept.) Philip in Thrace.

341 (March) Or. 8, *On the Chersonesus*. (May) Or. 9, *The Third Philippic*. Euboea recovered by Athens; Demosthenes sent as envoy to the Chersonesus and Byzantium.

340 End of the Peace of Philocrates. Philip's unsuccessful sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium.

339 Amphictyonic war against Amphissa. Demosthenes carries a proposal for devoting the festival-fund to military purposes.

338 (August) Athens and Thebes defeated by Philip at Chaeroneia.

336 Assassination of Philip. Accession of Alexander.

330 (Summer) Or. 18, *On the Crown*.

324 The 'affair of Harpalus,' and the exile of Demosthenes.

323 (May) Death of Alexander. Recall of Demosthenes.

322 (Aug. 5) Victory of Macedonians under Antipater at Crannon. (Oct. 21) Death of Demosthenes.

VIII *Select List of Editions, Dissertations, and Books of Reference*

TEXT

- JGBaier and HSauppe *Oratores Attici*, Zürich 1850.
 IBekker *Demosthenis Orationes*, stereotyped ed., Leipzig 1854.
 JTVoemel *Dem. Contiones cum app. critico*, Halle 1857.
 WDindorf *Dem. Orationes*, Leipzig, ed. 3, 1855.
 FBlass *Dem. Orationes*, Leipzig, 1885-9.
 Thalheim *neun Philippische Reden* (Teubner), Leipzig 1897.

COMMENTARIES

GENERAL

- GHSchaefer *Apparatus Criticus*, London (vol. i) 1824.
 WDindorf (vol. v) *Annotationes Interpretum ad Or. 1-19*,
 Oxford 1849; (vol. viii) *Scholia Graeca*, 1851.

SPECIAL

- JTVoemel *Or. 1-5, De Pace* pp. 220-256, Frankfurt 1829.
 FFranke *Or. 1-9*, ed. 2 Leipzig 1850; ed. 3 (*Or. 1-6*) 1871.
 AWestermann *Or. 1-6, 8, 9*, Berlin 1851; ed. 9 (Rosenberg) 1891.
 BWhiston *Or. 1-18*, London 1859.
 CRhdantz *Or. 1-9 etc.*, Leipzig 1860; ed. 5 of *Or. 5-9* (FBlass) 1886.
 GHeslop *Olynthiacs and Philippics, Or. 1-4, 6, 9, [10]*,
 London 1868.
 HWell *Or. 1-[17]*, Paris 1873; ed. 2, 1881; *Sept Philippiques* 1896.
 EAbbott and PEMatheson *Or. 5, 6, 8, 9*, Oxford 1890.
 FBTarbell *Philippics, Or. 4, 6, 9*, Boston U.S.A. 1880, '96.

LEXICOGRAPHY, TEXTUAL CRITICISM etc.

- Harpocraton, ed. Dindorf, Oxford 1853.
 Rhetores Graeci, ed. Walz, 1832-6.
 FPDobree *Adversaria*, Cambridge 1833; Leipzig 1875.
 CGCobet *Miscellanea Critica*, Leyden 1876.
 EHalim *Comment. in hon. Mommseni* pp. 694-704, Berlin 1877.

- Karlowa *Sprachgebrauch des Dem.*, Pless 1883.
 CRehdants *Indices*, ed. 4 (FBlass), Leipzig 1886.
 SPreuss *Index Demosthenicus*, Leipzig 1895.

DEMOSTHENIC LITERATURE

GENERAL

- Arnold Schaefer *Dem. und seine Zeit*, 3 vols., ed. 2, Leipzig 1885.
 FBlass *die Attische Beredsamkeit*, esp. III i, ed. 2, Leipzig 1893.
 HBButcher *Demosthenes* (Macmillan), London 1881.
 DGHogarth *Philip . . of Macedon* (Murray), London 1897.

SPECIAL

- LSpengel *die Symproptas des Dem.* I, II, München 1860.
 PJDitges *Philippische Reden des Dem.*, Köln 1887.

Analysis of Or. 5, 6, 8, 9

- Max Miller *Die Disposition der Rede 8*, Passau 1871.
 EHaerter *Disposition zu der Rede 4, 5, 6, 9*, Stendal 1887.
 EBottek *Inhaltsübersicht zu Dem. acht Staatsreden*, Wien 1894.
 HReich *Analysis in Ausgew. pol. Reden* (1-6, 8, 9), (Teubner) Leipzig 1896.

On the Peace

- ADownes *Praelectiones* London 1621; ed. CDBeck, Leipzig 1799.
 JBohrmoser "ueber den philokratischen Frieden," in *Zeitschr. f. Oesterr. Gymn.* xxv (1874) 789-815.
 § 8 AEberhard *Hermes* xii 519 <οὐκ> ἐπαιήσατο.
 § 11 CHFunkhaenel *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymn.* 9 (1855) 884 f. δι' ἃν ὅμιν εἴπω.
 § 12 CBadham *Mnemosyne* 3 (1875) 210.
 § 16 AEberhard *Hermes* xii 519 οὐδὲν ἄν <ἀλλ'> ἡμᾶς παθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι.
 § 17 ERosenberg *Curiae Demosthenicae*, Hirschberg (1887).
 §§ 17, 18 MZink *Eos* 2 (1885) 135 f.
 § 21 ERosenberg u.s., διέμεινεν for ἐδόκει εἶναι.
 § 24 KLiebhold *Jahrb. f. cl. Philol.* 129 (1884) 288, τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖν παθεῖν. The repetition of παθεῖν 'desirable but not necessary.' The conjecture ἐννοεῖν appears still less necessary to Blass in *Bursian's Jahrb.* 1889 i 212.
 § 24 CHFunkhaenel *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymn.* (1885) 220 f. discussas πρὸς.

Second Philippic

- JT**Voemel *Integrum esse Dem. Phil. II apparet ex dispositione*,
Frankfurt 1828.
AWeidner *Philologus* 37 (1877) 237-246 (*Bursian's Jahresh.*
1882 i 194).
§ 2 **HW**achendorf *Rhein. Mus.* 26 (1871) 411-420.
§ 11 **CHF**unkhaenel *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 83 (1861) 692.
§ 13 " *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymn.* (1854) 885, ὁ γὰρ
Μεσσήνην κτλ.
§ 22 **JT**Voemel *Progr.* Frankfurt (1830).

On the Chersonesus

- CA**dams *De periodorum formis et successionibus in D. or. Ch.*,
Kiel 1891.
§ 8 **CHF**unkhaenel *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymn.* 11 (1857) 364 f.
§§ 8, 19, 61 **ER**osenberg *Curac Demosthenicae* (1887).
§ 63 **HZ**urberg *Hermes* 13 (1876) 280-6 would omit πῶς
ἀπεστέγηθε.

Third Philippic

- LS**pengel (1) *ueber die dritte Philippische Rede*, München 1839.
(2) *die δημηγορία des Demosthenes*, München 1860.
CHFunkhaenel (1) *Observationes Criticae* 1841; (2) *Zeitschr. f.*
A IVS. (1841) 310, (1847) 404; (3) *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymn.*
(1854) 702; (4) on § 26 *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 8 (1862).
FSchultz *de codicibus quibusdam Demosthenicis ad orationem*
Philippicam tertiam nondum adhibitis, Progr. Berlin 1860.
LDrewes *ueber die Kunst u. den Character der dritten Phil.*
Rede, Progr. Braunschweig 1866.
HWell "die doppelte Redaction der III Phil. Rede," *Jahrb. f.*
cl. Phil. 101 (1870) 535-41.
JDraeseke (1) "die Ueberlieferung der III Phil. Rede," *Jahrb.*
f. cl. Phil. 7 Suppl. Band (1874) 97-189; (2) the same
abridged in Latin in *Rivista di filologia* 4 (1876) 357-410.
WChrist *die Attikerausgabe des Dem., c. 6 die Interpolationen*
der III Phil. Rede, München 1882.
FBlass *Zur dritten Philippischen Rede* pp. 134-8 of his ed. of
Rehdantz Neun Phil. Reden ii, 1886.
ASpengel "Beitrag zur III Philippischen Rede," *Ber. d. Bayr.*
Akad. 11 2, 272-316, München 1887.
§ 5 **EH**offmann *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 113 (1876) 475 f.
§§ 6, 7 **BD**alpias *Progr. d. Ob. Gymn.* 1872 Trient.
§ 24 **HW**achendorf *Rhein. Mus.* 26 (1871) 411 f.

- § 25 FKHertlein *Lyceal Progr.* Wertheim 1862.
 § 26 JTVoemel *Progr.* Frankfurt (*terrapoxias*), 1830.
 § 26 CHFunkhaesel *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 85 (1862) 438 f.
 § 27 " *Zeitschr. f. d. AWS.* 88 (1846).
 § 42 " " 37 (1841).
 §§ 41-5 LSpengel "die Ätimie des Arthmios," *Abh. d. Bayr. Akad.* (1839) 198-206.
 §§ 41-5 EMüller "die Aechtserklärung gegen Arthmios," in his ed. of Westermann *Ausgew. Reden* 1875 pp. 412-24.
 § 46 LDrewes *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 97 (1868) 139 f.
 § 46 JBrill *Mnemosyne* (1873) 205-8.
 § 56 ERosenberg *Curae Demosthenicae*, 1887.
 § 59 CHFunkhaesel *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymn.* (1854) 886.

IX List of the principal abbreviations used in the Notes

- S = *codex Parisinus* (cent. x), Paris.
 S¹ = first hand of S.
 L = *codex Laurentianus* (cent. xiii), Florence.
 A = *Augustanus primus* (cent. xi), now at Munich.
 Y = another *codex Parisinus* (cent. xi), Paris.
 O = *codex Bruxellensis* (cent. xiv), Brussels.
 F = *codex Marcianus* (cent. xi), Venice.
 B = *codex Bavaricus* (cent. xiii), Munich.
 om = omitted by or in.
 vulgo = the ordinary text, or the text of other mss than those specified.
 [] = words in the mss which should probably be omitted.
 < > = words not in the mss which should probably be added.
 Bl¹ = Blass in Teubner text vol. i, 1885.
 Bl² = Blass in Addenda to vols. ii, iii, 1888-9.
 Dind = Dindorf.
 Th = Thalheim's text, 1897.
 K = CRKennedy's *Translation of Demosthenes*.
 L & S = Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon*.
 MT. = Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* ed. 1889.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ

Ὅρῳ μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ παρόντα p. 57
πράγματα πολλὴν δυσκολίαν ἔχοντα καὶ ταρα- ^{Reiske}
χήν, οὐ μόνον τῷ πολλὰ προεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν
εἶναι προὔργου περὶ αὐτῶν εὖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων κατὰ ταῦτα μηδὲ
καθ' ἓν τὸ συμφέρον πάντας ἡγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ
τοῖς μὲν ὠδί, τοῖς δ' ἐτέρως δοκεῖν. δυσκόλου 2
δ' ὄντος φύσει καὶ χαλεποῦ τοῦ βουλευέσθαι,
ἔτι πολλῷ χαλεπώτερον ὑμεῖς αὐτὸ πεποιήκατ'
ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες
ἄνθρωποι πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι
τῷ βουλευέσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα.
ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμβαίνει παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον

§§ 1-3 ascribed by Spengel *Δημηγορίαι* 32 to a lost speech of Dem., delivered either at an earlier date, when war was actually going on, or at a later, when it was once more imminent.

§ 1 l. 4 αὐτῶν: τούτων? Weil. || 5 περὶ B A: τῷ περὶ vulgo (Thalheim).

§ 2 ll. 7-9 imitated by Choricus in *Φιλαργόρυ*; φύσει δύσκολον πρᾶγμα χαλεπώτερον οὕτω ποιεῖς.

ὃν οἶδ' ἐγώ, τὸν μὲν οἷς ἂν ὑμάρτητ' ἐπιτιμῶντα
 εὐδοκίμειν καὶ δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν, τὰ δὲ πράγματα
 3 καὶ περὶ ὧν βουλευέσθ' ἐκφεύγειν ὑμᾶς. οὐ
 μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, οἶομαι
 καὶ πεπεικῶς ἑμαυτὸν ἀνέστηκα, ἂν ἐβελήσῃτε
 τοῦ θορυβεῖν καὶ φιλονικεῖν ἀποστάντες ἀκούειν,
 ὥς ὑπὲρ πόλεως βουλευομένοις καὶ τηλικούτων
 πραγμάτων προσήκει, ἔξειν καὶ λέγειν καὶ συμ-
 βουλεύειν, δι' ὧν καὶ τὰ παρόντ' ἔσται βελτίω
 καὶ τὰ προειμένα σωθήσεται.
 4 Ἀκριβῶς δ' εἰδὼς ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ
 λέγειν περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς εἶπέν τις καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ,
 παρ' ὑμῖν αἰετῶν πάνυ λυσιτελοῦντων τοῖς
 πολμῶσιν ὅν, οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι φορτικὸν καὶ
 ἐπαχθές, ὥστ' ἀνάγκη οὖσαν ὁρῶν ὁμῶς
 p. 58 ἀποκνῶ. νομίζω δ' ἄμεινον ἂν ὑμᾶς περὶ ὧν
 νῦν ἐρῶ κρίναι, μικρὰ τῶν πρότερόν ποτε
 5 ῥηθέντων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μνημονεύσαντας. ἐγὼ γὰρ
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτον μὲν, ἡνίκ' ἐπειθὸν
 τινες ὑμᾶς, τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πραγμάτων ταραττο-
 μένων, βοηθεῖν Πλουτάρχῳ, καὶ πόλεμον ἄδοξον
 καὶ δαπανηρὸν ἄρασθαι, πρῶτος καὶ μόνος παρ-
 3: ελθὼν ἀντείπον, καὶ μόνον οὐ διεσπᾶσθην ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἐπὶ μικροῖς λήμμασιν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλ'

1. 15 [πράγματα καὶ] Cobet.

§ 3 l. 17 οἶομαι S and schol p. 160, 25: οἶμαι vulgo (Bl²). ||
 19 φιλονικεῖν Cobet: φιλονικεῖν mss (Weil). || 23 τὰ μὴ προειμένα
 † Rehdantz, Tournier.

§ 4 l. 30 [πότε] Bl, om Rehdiger's ms and Priscian xviii 300.

§ 5 l. 33 πραγμάτων ταραττομένων S A Y ('numeriis magis
 convenit' Bl²): ταραττομένων πραγμάτων vulgo (Bl¹). || 34
 ἄδοξον vulgo: καὶ ἄδοξον S¹ (Voemel, and Bl to ἀνοῖδ' ~ ~ ~).

ὑμᾶς αμαρτάνειν πεισάντων· καὶ χρόνου βρα-
 χέος διελθόντος, μετὰ τοῦ προσοφλεῖν αἰσχύ-
 10 νην καὶ παθεῖν, οἷα τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένας
 πώποτε πεπόνθας· ὑπὸ τούτων οἷς ἐβοήθησαν,
 πάντες ὑμεῖς ἔγνωτε τήν τε τῶν τότε ταῦτα
 πεισάντων κακίαν καὶ τὰ βέλτιστ' εἰρηκότ' ἐμέ.
 πάλιν τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι κατιδὼν Νεο- 6
 45 πτόλεμον τὸν ὑποκριτήν, τῷ μὲν τῆς τέχνης
 προσχήματι τυγχάνοντ' ἀδείας, κακὰ δ' ἔργα-
 ζόμενον τὰ μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ παρ'
 ὑμῶν διοικούντα Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυτανεύοντα,
 παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὐδεμιᾶς ἰδίας οὐτ'
 50 ἔχθρας οὔτε συκοφαντίας ἔνεκα, ὥς ἐκ τῶν μετὰ
 ταῦτ' ἔργων γέγονεν δῆλον. καὶ οὐκέτ' ἐν 7
 τούτοις αἰτιάσομαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ Νεοπτολέμου
 λέγοντας (οὐδὲ εἰς γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς·
 εἰ γὰρ ἐν Διονύσου τραγῳδοὺς ἐθεᾶσθε, ἀλλὰ
 55 μὴ περὶ σωτηρίας καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ὁ
 λόγος, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως οὐτ' ἐκείνου πρὸς χάριν
 οὐτ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν ἠκούσατε. καίτοι 8

1. 41 to avoid ~ ~ ~, Bl would either assume a pause after
 πώποτε or alter it into πω as in 1 § 9, 11 § 16. || πεπόνθας'
 ὑπὸ Bl: πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ mss (Weil, Th). || 42 τότε S alone: om
 vulgo (Bl, who would also omit ταῦτα). || 43 καὶ τὰ S alone:
 καὶ τὸν τὰ vulgo (Voemel).

§ 6 l. 47 [καὶ] 'et propter sensum et propter numeros' Bl. ||
 48 [διοικούντα] and [καὶ] Cobet. || 50 ἔνεκα vulgo (Bl, Thalheim):
 ἔνεκεν S (Voemel, Dind, Weil). All the mss except S place
 ἔνεκα after οὐδεμιᾶς, and ἰδίας after συκοφαντίας; Bl suspects
 ἰδίας. || 51 γέγονεν Bl: γέγονε mss (Weil, Thalheim).

§ 7 l. 54 ἐθεᾶσθε A and corrected S, Herodian p. 438 (Bl):
 ἐθεᾶσασθε S¹ and vulgo (Voemel, Weil, Thalheim). || 57 ἠκούσατε
 S A Y: ἠκούετε vulgo.

- τοῦτό γ' ὑμᾶς οἶμαι νῦν ἅπαντας ᾗσθησθαι, ὅτι
 τὴν τότε ἄφιξιν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ποιησάμενος
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάκεϊ χρήματ' ὀφειλόμεν', ὡς ἔφη, α
 p. 59 κομίσας δεῦρο λητουργεῖν, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ
 πλείστῳ χρησάμενος, ὡς δεινὸν εἴ τις ἐγκαλεῖ
 τοῖς ἐκείθεν ἐνθάδε τὰς εὐπορίας ἄγουσιν, ἐπειδὴ
 διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀδείας ἔτυχεν, ἣν ἐνθάδ' ἐκέκτητ'
 οὐσίαν φανεράν, ταύτην ἐξαργυρίσας πρὸς ἐκείνους β
 9 ἀπάγων οἴχεται. δύο μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' ὧν προείπον
 ἐγὼ μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς γεγενημένοις λόγοις, ὀρθῶς
 καὶ δικαίως, οἷά περ ἦν, ἀποφανθένθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ·
 τρίτον δ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι (καὶ μόνον ἐν τούτ'
 εἰπὼν ἔτι, καὶ δὴ περὶ ὧν παρελήλυθ' ἐρῶ), γ
 ἡμῖκα τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπει-
 10 ληφότες ἤκομεν οἱ πρέσβεις, τότε Θεσπιάς
 τινων καὶ Πλαταιᾶς ὑπισχνουμένων οἰκισθήσε-
 σθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας τὸν Φίλιππον, ἂν
 γένηται κύριος, σώσειν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων πόλιν δ
 διοικεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξειν, καὶ
 τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἂντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ἀποδοθήσεσθαι,
 καὶ τοιαύτας ἐλπίδας καὶ φανακισμούς, οἷς ἐπ-
 αχθέντες ὑμεῖς οὔτε συμφόρως οὔτ' ἴσως καλῶς

§ 8 l. 58 νῦν ἅπαντας ᾗσθησθαι S (Voemel, Weil, Thalheim); also Bl², who would omit ὅτι and ἐποιήσατο: γινώσκων A Y (Bl¹). || 59 ποιησάμενος Tournier (Thalheim): ποιούμενος Weil: ἐποιήσατο vulgo (om S¹). || 66 [ἀπάγων] Bl to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪; ἀπὼν Cobet, cf. 7 § 20 ἀπὸντες ᾤχοντο, 18 § 65 ᾤχετ' ἀπὼν.

§ 9 l. 87 μαρτυρεῖται τοῖς γεγενημένοις (om λόγοις) preferred by Bl. || 69 τὸ τρίτον S alone (Weil).

§ 10 l. 78 ἐπαχθέντες S alone (Voemel, Dind, Thalheim): ὑπαχθέντες vulgo (Weil, Bl); Hesychius a.v. may refer to Dem 59 § 18. || 79 συμφόρως S alone: συμφερόντως vulgo. || οὐτ' ἴσως καλῶς S¹ (Weil, Bl): οὐτ' ἴσως οὐτε καλῶς vulgo (Voemel, Thalheim).

προεῖσθε Φωκέας, οὐδὲν τούτων οὐτ' ἐξαπατήσας
οὔτε συγῆσας ἐγὼ φανήσομαι, ἀλλὰ προειπὼν
ὑμῖν, ὥς οἶδ' ὅτι μνημονεύετε, ὅτι ταῦτ' οὐτ'
οἶδα οὔτε προσδοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ τὸν λέγοντα
ληρεῖν.

85 Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα, ὅσα φαίνομαι βέλτιον 11
τῶν ἄλλων προορῶν, οὐδ' εἰς μίαν ὦ ἄνδρες
'Αθηναῖοι οὔτε δεινότητ' οὐτ' ἀλαζονείαν ἐπανοίσω,
οὐδὲ προσποιήσομαι δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γυγνώσκειν
καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι πλὴν δι' ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω δύο·
90 ἐν μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι δι' εὐτυχίαν, ἣν συμ-
πάσης ἐγὼ τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὔσης δεινότητος p. 60
καὶ σοφίας ὁρῶ κρατοῦσαν· ἕτερον δέ, προῖκα τὰ 12
πράγματα κρίνω καὶ λογίζομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν λήμμι'
ἂν οὐδεὶς ἔχοι πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι καὶ
95 λέγω δεῖξαι προσσηρτημένον. ὀρθὸν οὖν, ὅ τι
ἂν ποτ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρχη τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ
συμφέρον φαίνεται μοι. ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερ'
ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνην ἀργύριον προσενέγκης,
οἴχεται φέρων καὶ καθεῖλκυκε τὸν λογισμὸν
100 ἐφ' αὐτό, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὑγιῶς ὁ
τοῦτο ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς λογίσαιτο.

Ἐν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν φημι 13
δεῖν, ὅπως, εἴτε συμμάχους εἴτε σύνταξιν εἴτ'

1. 81 σίγ' ἑάσας Tournier.

§ 11 l. 89 [δύο] regarded by Weil as inconsistent with the indefinite phrase δι' ἂν εἴπω, and as requiring τὸ ἕτερον δὲ below.

§ 12 l. 93 οὐδὲν λήμμι' ἂν οὐδεὶς (οὐδεὶς ἂν vulgo) ἔχει § (Dind, Weil, Thalheim): οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχει λήμμα quoted by Isidor Pelus ii 146 (Bl). || 98 [ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνην] Badham. || 99 καθεῖλκυκε § B F, supported by perfect sense of οἴχεται (Weil, Thalheim): καθεῖλκυσε vulgo (-v Bl).

§ 13 l. 102 ἔγωγε: ἐκείνο Libanius iv 16, 9 (1 Bl).

- ἄλλο βούλεται τις κατασκευάζειν τῇ πόλει, τὴν
 ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην μὴ λύων τοῦτο ποιήσει, οὐχ
 ὡς θαυμαστὴν οὐδ' ὡς ἀξίαν οὖσαν ὑμῶν· ἀλλ'
 ὅποια τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν αὕτη, μὴ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον
 εἶχε τοῖς πράγμασι καιρόν, ἢ γεγενημένη νῦν δι'
 ἡμᾶς λυθῆναι· πολλὰ γὰρ προείμεθα, ὧν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων τότε ἂν ἡ νῦν ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ ῥάων ᾦν·
- 14 ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος. δεύτερον δ', ὅρᾳν ὅπως μὴ
 προαξόμεθ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς συνεληλυ-
 θότας τούτους καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύονας νῦν
 εἶναι εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ πρόφασιν κοινοῦ πολέμου
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ γένοιθ' ἡμῖν πρὸς
 Φίλιππον πάλιν πόλεμος δι' Ἀμφίπολιν, ἢ τι
 τοιοῦτ' ἐγκλημ' ἴδιον, οὐ μὴ μετέχουσι Θετταλοὶ
 μὴδ' Ἀργεῖοι μὴδὲ Θηβαῖοι, οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν οἴομαι
- 15 τούτων οὐδένας πολεμῆσαι, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα
 (καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ μηδεὶς πρὶν ἀκούσαι)·
 Θηβαίους, οὐχ ὡς ἡδέως ἔχουσιν ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ὡς
- p. 61 οὐκ ἂν χαρίζοντο Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλ' ἴσασιν ἀκριβῶς,
 εἰ καὶ πάνυ φησί τις αὐτοὺς ἀναισθήτους εἶναι,

l. 104 ἄλλο S AY (Voemel, Weil, Thalheim): + τι vulgo and Libanius (Bl). || 105 ποιήσει S: ποιήσῃ vulgo. || 107 ὅποια τίς ποτε S alone (Voemel, Weil, Bl², Thalheim): ὅποια ποτε vulgo (Bl¹). || 108 γεγενημένην some unimportant mss; also Libanius, Reiske, Cobet. || 109 προείμεθα S alone (Voemel).

§ 14 l. 112 προαξόμεθα OY: προαξώμεθα S¹ A¹. || 114 εἶναι, eis S (Voemel, Bl). || 117 τοιοῦτ' Bl; τοιοῦτο S; τοιοῦτον Voemel, Weil, Thalheim. || 118 ὑμῖν S. || 119 οὐδένας Herwerden (Weil, Bl, Thalheim): οὐδένα VVV.

§ 15 l. 120 μηδεὶς mss and Libanius iv 521, 1 (cp. iii 306, 26): τις Alexander viii 425, approved by Bl. || 121 οὐδ' ὡς ἂν χαρίζοντο S¹; οὐδ' ὡς οὐκ ἂν χ. ἂν B; οὐδ' ὡς οὐ χ. ἂν f Bl². || 123 φησί; φησὶ S alone; φήσῃ AY; φήσευ vulgo (Dind).

ὅτι, εἰ γενήσεται πόλεμος πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς, τὰ
 125 μὲν κακὰ πάνθ' ἔξουσιν αὐτοί, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς
 ἐφεδρεῦν ἕτερος καθεδεῖται. οὐκ οὖν πρόοιεν
 ἂν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοῦτο, μὴ κοινῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ
 τῆς αἰτίας οὐσης τοῦ πολέμου. οὐδὲ γ' εἰ πάλιν 16
 πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους πολεμήσαιμεν δι' Ὀρωπόν,
 130 ἢ τε τῶν ἰδίων, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμᾶς παθεῖν ἡγοῦ-
 μαι· καὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν κακείνοις τοὺς βοηθοῦντας ἂν
 οἶμαι, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἴ τις ἐμβάλῃ, βοηθεῖν,
 οὐ συνπιπυρατεύσειν οὐδετέροις. καὶ γὰρ αἱ
 συμμαχίαι τοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον, ὧν καὶ
 135 φροντίσειεν ἂν τις, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα φύσει τοιοῦτόν
 ἐστίν· οὐκ ἄχρι τῆς ἴσης ἕκαστός ἐστιν εὖνους 17
 οὐθ' ἡμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις, σῶς τ' εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν
 τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ σῶς μὲν εἶναι πάντες ἂν
 βούλοινθ' ἐνεχ' αὐτῶν, κρατήσαντας δὲ τοὺς
 140 ἐτέρους δεσπότας ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς. τί
 οὖν ἡγοῦμαι φοβερὸν καὶ τί φυλάξασθαί φημι
 δεῖν ἡμᾶς; ὅπως μὴ κοινὴν πρόφασιν καὶ κοινὸν
 ἔγκλημ' ὁ μέλλων πόλεμος πρὸς ἅπαντας λάβῃ.
 εἰ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Μεγα- 18

l. 124 ὑμᾶς mss: ἡμᾶς! GHSchaefer. || αὐτοῖς vulgo, and margin of S: αὐτοῖς S B etc. || 126 πρόοιεν' S A B F (Voemel, Weil, Bl); προοῖεν' Thalheim: προεῖν' O Y (Dind).

§ 16 l. 131 βοηθοῦντας S: βοηθήσαντας vulgo. || 133 συν-
 πιπυρατεύειν O (GHSchaefer). || 134 ὧν καὶ φροντίσειεν ἂν τις
 needlessly suspected. || 135 φύσει mss and Lucian *Piscator* 25,
 Libanius v 559, 21; om Libanius iv 360, 2.

§ 17 l. 137 σῶς τ' Reiske: ὥστε mss, ὥστ' S; ὥστε σῶς τ'
 vulgo. || [σῶς τ'—ἄλλων] Dind, Cobet; 'at ἄχρι τῆς ἴσης, articulus
 additus, postulat explicationem' Voemel. || 141 φημι vulgo
 (Bl², Thalheim): om S¹ alone (Voemel, Weil, Bl¹). || 142 ἡμᾶς
 S: ὑμᾶς vulgo. || ὅπως μὴ vulgo (Bl², Thalheim): μὴ S alone
 (Cobet, Weil, Bl¹).

- λοπολῖται καὶ τινες τῶν λοιπῶν Πελοποννησίων, ¹⁴
 ὅσοι ταῦτὰ τούτοις φρονούσι, διὰ τὴν πρὸς
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ἐπικηρυκεῖαν ἐχθρῶς σχή-
 σουσι καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκδέχεσθαι τι τῶν ἐκείνοις
 πεπραγμένων, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἔχουσι μὲν, ὡς λέγου-
 σιν, ἀπεχθῶς, ἔτι δ' ἐχθροτέρως σχήσουσιν, ὅτι ¹⁵
 τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνων φεύγοντας σφάζομεν καὶ πάντα
 τρόπον τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐνδεικνύμεθ' αὐτοῖς,
 19 Θετταλοὶ δ', ὅτι τοὺς Φωκέων φυγάδας σφάζομεν,
 Φίλιππος δ', ὅτι κωλύομεν αὐτὸν κοινωνεῖν τῆς
 p. 62 ἀμφικτυονίας, φοβούμεαι μὴ πάντες, περὶ τῶν ¹⁵
 ἰδίων ἕκαστος ὀργιζόμενος, κοινὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγά-
 γωσι τὸν πόλεμον, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων δόγματα
 προστησάμενοι, εἰτ' ἐπισπασθῶσιν ἕκαστοι πέρα
 τοῦ συμφέροντος ἑαυτοῖς [ἡμῖν πολεμήσαι], ὥσπερ
 20 καὶ περὶ Φωκέας. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι νῦν ¹⁶
 Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος καὶ Θετταλοί, οὐχὶ ταῦθ'
 ἕκαστοι μάλιστ' ἐσπουδακότες, ταῦτὰ πάντες
 ἐπραξαν, οἷον Θηβαῖοι τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον παρ-
 ελθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὰς παρόδους οὐκ ἐδύναντο
 κωλύσαι, οὐδέ γε τῶν αὐτοῖς πεπονημένων ¹⁶
 21 ὕστατον ἐλθόντα τὴν δόξαν ἔχειν· νυνὶ γὰρ

§ 18 l. 146 [τούτοις] Bl². || φρονούσιν S (Voemel, Thalheim).

|| 147 σχήσουσιν S (Voemel).

§ 19 l. 156 ἕκαστος ὀργιζόμενος S (Dind, Bl); ἕκαστος ὀργι-
 ζόμενος A Y (ἕκαστος, ὀργιζόμενος Thalheim); ἕκαστοι ὀργιζόμενοι
 Cobet; ἕκαστοι [ὀργιζόμενοι] Weil. || 158 πέρα S here and in
 16 § 23 (Voemel Proleg p. 35): πέρα Weil, Thalheim. || 159
 [ἡμῖν πολεμήσαι] 'explicandi gratia adscriptum videtur, cf.
 schol. p. 164 ὑποψίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐμποιεῖ γενησόμενου πολέμου,
 ὅπερ ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεώς ἐστι καταμαθεῖν τῆς ἐπισπασθῶσιν; male
 convenit cum eis quae sequuntur, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ Φωκέας,
 et cum ipso Phocensium exemplo' Bl.

§ 21 ll. 166-170 [νυνὶ—εἶναι] Fox.

Θηβαίους πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὴν χώραν κεκομίσθαι
πέπρακταί τι, πρὸς δὲ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν αἰσχιστα·
εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρήλθε Φίλιππος, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς
170 δοκεῖ <πλέον> εἶναι. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἠβούλonto,
ἄλλὰ τῷ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν
λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν, μὴ δύνασθαι δέ, πάντα ταῦθ'
ὑπέμειναν. Φίλιππον τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δήπου 22
τολμῶσι λέγειν, ὥς οὐδ' ἐβούλετο Θηβαίους
175 Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν παραδοῦναι, ἀλλ'
ἠναγκάσθη· ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἐρῶσθαι λέγω,
ἐκεῖνο δ' οἷδ', ὅτι οὐ μᾶλλον γε ταῦτ' ἔμελ' αὐτῷ,
ἢ τὰς παρόδους λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο καὶ τὴν δόξαν
τοῦ πολέμου, τὸ δοκεῖν δι' αὐτὸν κρίσιν εἰλη-
180 φέναι, καὶ τὰ Πύθια θεῖναι δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτ'
ἦν ὧν μάλιστ' ἐγλίχeto. Θετταλοὶ δὲ γ' 23
οὐδέτερον ἠβούλonto τούτων, οὔτε Θηβαίους οὔτε
τὸν Φίλιππον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι (ταῦτα γὰρ
πάντ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἡγούντο), τῆς πυλαίας δ'
185 ἐπεθύμουν καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πλεονεκτημάτων p. 63
δυοῖν, κύριοι γενέσθαι· τῷ δὲ τούτων γλίχεσθαι

l. 168 *πέπρακταί τι* S: κάλλιστα *πέπρακται* vulgo (in contrast to *αἰσχιστα*) and Isidor v 175. || 170 *δοκεῖ* Sauppe, Cobet (Weil, Bl): *ἐδόκει* mss (Voemel between commas, Thalheim). || <*πλέον*> *εἶναι* Reiske (Dind, Weil): *εἶναι* mss (Bl, Thalheim); *μεῖναι* ? Bl; *περιεῖναι* Slameczka (Rosenberg). || 170 and 182 *ἠβούλonto* mss (Voemel, Bl): *ἐβούλonto* Weil, Thalheim. || 171 and 175 Ὀρχομενὸν mss: Ὀρχομενὸν old form found in inscr. (Thalheim).

§ 22. l. 178 [*ἐβούλετο*] Horwerden (Bl, 'etiam propter v.l. ἢ τὸ τὰς παρόδους λαβεῖν'). || 179 τὸ δοκεῖν Bl², cf. 22 § 74: τοῦ δοκεῖν mss (Weil, Bl¹, Thalheim).

§ 23 l. 182 *ἠβούλonto* S and most mss (Voemel, Bl): *ἠβούλonto* B (Dind, Weil, Thalheim). || 184 *ἡγούντο* S: + *εἶναι* vulgo (Bl²).

τάδε συγκατέπραξαν. τῶν τοίνυν ἰδίων ἔνεχ' εὐρήσθ' ἕκαστον πολλὰ προηγμένον ὧν οὐδὲν ἡβούλετο πράξαι. τοῦτο μέντοι τοῦτ' ἔστιν φυλακτέον ἡμῖν.

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- 24 Τὰ κελεύόμεν' ἡμᾶς ἄρα δεῖ ποιεῖν ταῦτα φοβουμένους; καὶ σὺ ταῦτα κελεύεις; πολλοὺ γε καὶ δέω. ἀλλ' ὥς οὔτε πράξομεν οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἔσται πόλεμος, νούν δὲ δόξομεν πᾶσιν ἔχειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια λέγειν, τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖν ποιεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θρασέως <οὐδ' > ὁτιοῦν οἰομένους ὑπομεῖναι δεῖν καὶ μὴ προορωμένους τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκεῖνα βούλομαι λογίσασθαι. ἡμεῖς Θηβαίους ἐῷμεν ἔχειν Ὀρωπόν· καὶ εἴ τις ἔροιθ' ἡμᾶς, κελεύσας εἰπεῖν τάληθῇ, διὰ τί; ἵνα 200
- 25 μὴ πολεμῶμεν, φαίμεν ἄν. καὶ Φιλίππῳ νυνὶ κατὰ συνθήκας Ἀμφιπόλεως παρακεχωρήκαμεν, καὶ Καρδιανούς ἐῷμεν ἔξω Χερροννησιτῶν τῶν ἄλλων τετάχθαι, καὶ τὸν Κᾶρα τὰς νήσους καταλαμ-

l. 187 *ἔνεχ'* mss (Weil, Thalheim): *εἴνεχ'* Bl, Rosenberg. || 189 *ἡβούλετο* mss (Bl): *εβούλετο* Weil, Thalheim. || τοῦτο μέντοι τοῦτ' *Rehdantz* (Rosenberg, Bl²), ταὐτὸ μέντοι τοῦτ' Bl¹; αὐτὸ μέντοι τοῦτ' may be suggested, as in 20 § 47 αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ δεῖν ἔστιν, *Thuc.* vi 9 § 1, and often in *Plato*: τοῦτο μέντοι ὅτι τοῦτ' S¹ alone; τοῦτο μέντοι ὅτι τοιοῦτόν B (Voemel); τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν ὅτι τοιοῦτόν vulgo; τοῦτο μέντοι ὅτι τοιοῦτον <ἐτ' > Weil; τοῦτο μέντοι, ἔτι τοῦτ' Thalheim.

§ 24 l. 193 ὥς mss: ὅπως *Cobet*. || 196 δεῖν ποιεῖν S: δείξειν or δείξαι vulgo; δεῖν ἐννοεῖν *Liebhold*. || 196-7 <οὐδ' > ὁτιοῦν *Cobet* (Weil, Thalheim); <μηδ' > ὁτιοῦν *Doerling*, omitting μὴ (197); ὁτιοῦν mss (Bl). || 200 [ἡμᾶς] † Bl; om *Isidor* iii 259 κἄν τις ἔρηται διὰ τί; and *John Chrysostom* i 278, 48 καὶ εἴ τις ἥρτο διὰ τί; ἵνα μὴ . . εἶπον ἄν, also 10 § 70, 17 § 3. || 201 φαίμεν S alone (Weil, Bl, Thalheim): φαίηνμεν vulgo (Bl †).

§ 25 l. 202 συνθήκας S A¹, *Bekker Anecd* p. 161 (Bl): τὰς συνθήκας vulgo (Voemel, Weil, Thalheim).

205 βάνειν, Χίον καὶ Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον, καὶ Βυζαντίους
κατάγειν τὰ πλοῖα, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς
εἰρήνης ἡσυχίαν πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι
νομίζοντες, ἢ τὸ προσκρούειν καὶ φιλονικεῖν περὶ
τούτων. οὐκοῦν εὖηθες καὶ κομιδῇ σχέτλιον,
210 πρὸς ἐκάστους καθ' ἑν' οὕτω προσενηνεγμένους
περὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων, πρὸς
πάντας περὶ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιᾶς νυνὶ πολε-
μῆσαι.

1. 208 φιλονικεῖν op. 1. 19. || 212 πάντας S alone (Voemel, Bl, Thalheim): πάντας vulgo (Weil). || πολεμῆσαι; vulgo (Thalheim).

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β

"Όταν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λόγοι γίνωνται
 περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ
 τὴν εἰρήνην, αἰεὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ
 δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὁρῶ φαινομένους, καὶ
 λέγειν μὲν ἅπαντας αἰεὶ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας,
 τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλίππου, γιγνόμενον δ'
 οὐδὲν ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν δεόντων, οὐδ' ὧν
 2 εἵνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον· ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἤδη
 p 66 προηγμένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ
 πόλει, ὥσθ', ὅσῳ τις ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον¹⁰
 ἐξελέγχῃ Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην
 παραβαίνοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπι-
 βουλευόντα, τοσούτῳ τὸ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν συμ-
 3 βουλευσαί χαλεπώτερον. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων, ὅτι
 πάντας ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν¹⁵
 ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλύειν καὶ πράξειςιν, οὐχὶ
 λόγοις δέον, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες

§ 11. 8 εἵνεκα vulgo, Bl: εἵνεκα S A Y (Weil, Th).

§ 21. 12 Ἑλλήσιν ~~~: ἄλλοις! Bl. || 14 χαλεπώτερον S¹ L¹
 (Bl, Th); + εἶναι vulgo; + ὅν Madvig AC i 456 (Weil).

§ 31. 15 πάντας vulgo and Stobaeus (Bl, Th): πάντες S¹ L A
 (Voemel, Weil).

τούτων μὲν ἀφέσταμεν καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ὀκνοῦντες,
 20 οἷα ποιεῖ δ', ὡς δεινὰ, καὶ τοιαῦτα διεξερχόμεθα·
 ἔπειθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἶποιτε
 δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλου συνείητε,
 ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρεσκεύασθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ'
 ἂν ἐκείνον πράττειν ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὧν ἔστι νῦν,
 25 παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε. συμβαίνει δὴ πρᾶγμ' ἃ
 ἀναγκαῖον οἶμαι καὶ ἴσως εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἐκάτεροι
 διατρίβετε καὶ περὶ ἃ σπουδάζετε, ταῦτ' ἄμεινον
 ἐκατέροις ἔχει, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ πράξεις, ὑμῖν δ'
 οἱ λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαίωτερ'
 30 ὑμῖν ἐξαρκεῖ, ῥάδιον, καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσεστι
 τῷ πράγματι· εἰ δ' ὅπως τὰ παρόντ' ἐπανορθω-
 θήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, καὶ μὴ προελθόντ' ἔτι
 πορρωτέρω λήσει πάνθ' ἡμᾶς, μὴδ' ἐπιστήσεται
 μέγεθος δυνάμεως πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀντᾶραι δυνη-
 35 σόμεθα, οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον τοῦ
 βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσιν ἅπασι
 καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ

l. 20 καὶ τοιαῦτα S¹ L¹ (Weil, Bl¹, Th); καὶ χαλεπὰ καὶ τοιαῦτα corr L, A Y O (Dind); καὶ χαλεπὰ ταῦτα corr S, B F: ταῦτα Voemel (Bl²). || 22 συνείητε A Urb (Bekker etc.): συνίητε S¹ L, συνίητε corr S.

§ 4 l. 28 ἀναγκαῖον . . εἰκός: εἰκός . . ἀναγκαῖον Spengel. || 28 ἔχει Y: ἔχειν S L etc defended by some, but, with this reading, ταῦτα (instead of being the subject of ἔχει) would become the subject of συμβαίνει, awkwardly understood from the preceding sentence; or, if regarded as acc., would be inconsistent with the following nom. αἱ πράξεις and οἱ λόγοι.

§ 5 l. 32 [ἐτι] Bl, omitted by Libanius iv 350, 26 but retained by Dionysius ii 280, 8. || 33 πάνθ' S¹ (!) L¹ A¹ (Weil, Th) [πάντα] Bl: πάντας vulgo (Voemel); πάντως v.l. || ἡμᾶς om Y, Libanius, Dionysius (Bl). || 36 ἅπασιν mss (Voemel, Th).

σώσονται τῶν ῥάστων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προ-
αιρετέον.

6 Πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι θαρρεῖ, *

ρ 67 ὥρῳν ἡλικὸς ἤδη καὶ ὅσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος,
καὶ μηδὲν οἶεται κίνδυνον φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει,
μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι, θαυμάζω,
καὶ δεηθῆναι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι,
τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀκούσαί μου διὰ βραχέων, δι' 45
οὓς τάναντί' ἐμοὶ παρέστηκε προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι'
ᾧ ἐχθρόν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, ἵν', ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ
δοκῶ βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε· ἂν δ'
οἱ θαρροῦντες καὶ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ, τοῦτοις

7 προσθήσεσθε. ἐγὼ τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι 50
λογίζομαι, τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος πρῶτον μετὰ
τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν
Φωκεύσι πραγμάτων. τί οὖν; πῶς τοῦτοις
ἐχρήσατο; ἃ Θηβαίοις συμφέρει καὶ οὐχ ἃ
τῇ πόλει, πράττειν προείλετο. τί δῆποτε; ὅτι 55
πρὸς πλεονεξίαν οἶμαι καὶ τὸ πάνθ' ὑφ' αὐτῷ
ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, καὶ οὐχὶ
πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδέν,
8 εἶδε τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρα πόλει καὶ
τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο 60

§ 6 l. 48. After *πεισθῆτε* a colon is added by Th, a full stop by Voemel, and a comma by Bl and even by Weil. || 50 *προσθήσεσθε* S L alone (Voemel, Weil, Th): *πρόσθησθε* vulgo, *προσθήσθε* Vind l (Bl); but Dem does not ask his audience to attend, *in order that* they may attach themselves to the party of Philip; if he fails to convince them, they *will* do so (*προσθήσεσθε*), but this is not his *object*.

§ 8 l. 59 *εἶδε* S alone: *οἶδε* L etc. || 60 *ἡμετέροις* A Y (Weil, Bl, Th), *ὑμετέροις* S L (τοῖς ἡμ. ἡθεσι vulgo).

τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ ποιήσειεν, ὅφ' οὐ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς
 τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ὠφελείας τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς
 Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ πρόοισθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου
 λόγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν
 65 τῷ πράγματι φεύγοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει
 προορώμενοι, ὁμοίως ἐναντιώσεσθ', ἂν τι τοιοῦτ'
 ἐπιχειρῇ πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πολεμοῦντες
 τύχοιτε. τοὺς δὲ Θεβαίους ἡγεῖθ', ὅπερ συνέβη, 9
 ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ εἰσείν
 ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως
 ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακωλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συ-
 στρατεύσειν, ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. καὶ νῦν τοὺς
 Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ταῦθ' ὑπείληφώς p. 68
 εὖ ποιεῖ. ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώ-
 10 μιον ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων
 τῶν ἔργων, μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους
 τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι, μηδ'
 ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος μηδ' ὠφελείας
 τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας εὐνοίαν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως
 10 καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπέιληφεν, καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων
 καὶ Θεβαίων ὡς ἐτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόνθ'
 ὄρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος.
 εὐρίσκει γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ ἀκούει, τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέ- 11
 15 ρους προγόνους, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχειν
 Ἑλλήνων ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ

l. 61 τοσοῦτον S L alone : τοιοῦτον vulgo (preferred by Gebauer
 ed. Lysias p. 327. || 63 πρόοισθε corr S (Weil, Bl); προέσθε
 Th: προέσθε S¹ and vulgo; προέσθε Dind; προέσθε L
 § 9 l. 73 ταῦθ': ταῦθ' S L || 74 ποιεῖ: ἐποίει S L alone.
 § 10 l. 82 πρὸ τοῦ? Bl², 53 § 12, 60 § 24.
 § 11 l. 84 αὐτοῖς: αὐτοῖς S L¹ alone.

μόνον οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἥνικ' ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κήρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν ὅτιοῦν ὑπομείναντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦτα, ἃ πάντες αἰεὶ γλίχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ καὶ γὰρ παραλείψω δικαίως (ἔστι γὰρ μείζω τὰ κείνων ἔργα, ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους, τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἔναντιωθέντας. οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας, οὐχ ὅτι συνοίσει κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησι σκεψομένους. ἡγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἔλοιτο, φίλους ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις αἰρήσεσθαι, εἰ δ' ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεργοὺς ἔξειν τῆς αὐτοῦ πλεονεξίας. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἰρεῖται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριῆρεις γ' ὅρᾳ πλείους αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑμῖν οὔσας· οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὗρηκεν, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν· οὐδ'

l. 87 τούτων S B A O Y: τούτου vulgo and Libanius iv 242, 31 (GHSchaefer, Herwerden). || 88 χώραν S L: πόλιν vulgo. || 90 πάντες S L', omitting μὲν as in 8 §§ 34, 67 and 9 §§ 2, 19, 33: + μὲν vulgo. || 92 [δικαίως—εἴποι] Cobet; [ἔστι γὰρ—εἴποι] Dobree and Funkhänel. || μείζω vulgo (Bl, Th), as in 4 § 20, 18 § 139: μείζονα S (Weil), as in 18 § 10, 24 § 29. Isidor v 342 μείζον γὰρ ἔστιν ἢ ὡς ἂν λόγῳ τις εἴποι, hence Bl suggests μείζω γὰρ τὰ κείνων ἔργα, ἢ ὡς ἂν λόγῳ τις εἴποι. || 93 τὰ κείνων Voemel Proleg § 11, Bl: τὰ κείνων S (Weil, Th).

§ 12 l. 97 ὅτι συνοίσει κοινῇ ~ ~ ~: ὅτι κοινῇ συνοίσει Bl, Isidor ii 60 οὐχ ὅτι τῷ κοινῷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνοίσει σκεψόμενοι. || 99 ἔλοιτο, φίλους Rehdantz etc: ἔλοιτο φίλους S (Voemel). || 103 οὔσας S L' alone: ἐνούσας vulgo. || μὲν vulgo (Voemel, Weil, Th): om S L (Bl). || 104 εὗρηκεν S (Voemel, Th): εὗρηκε (Weil, Bl).

ἡμνημονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ'
αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.

Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί', εἵποι τις ἂν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' 13
εἰδώς, οὐ πλεονεξίας ἔνεκ' οὐδ' ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ
τότε ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιοτέρα τοὺς
Θηβαίους ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιούν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ
μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ νῦν
εἰπεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφιέναι
κελεύων, πῶς ἂν, Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε
Θηβαίοις παραδούς, τῷ δίκαια νομῆζεν ταῦτ'
εἶναι πεποιημένα σκήψαιτο;

Ἀλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δία (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστ' ὑπό- 14
λοιπον) καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐκπέων
καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὀπλιτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεῖς,
συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. καλῶς. οὐκοῦν φασὶ μὲν
μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν,
καὶ λογοποιούσιν περιμόντες τινὲς ὡς Ἑλίτειαν
τειχεῖ· ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει 15
γ', ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς
Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συλλαμβάνειν
οὐ μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ'
ὑποστέλλει καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐστι

§ 13 l. 109 ἔνεκ' Bl; ἔνεκα Th; ἔνεκεν MSS (Voemel, Weil).

§ 110 δικαιοτέρα S (Weil, Th) ∪ ∪ ∪: δικαιοτερ' ἀξιούν vulgo (Bl), cf. 18 § 215. § 111 ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιούν S (Weil, Th): [ἢ ὑμᾶς] Bl.

§ 112 ἔνεστιν S (Weil, Th): ἔνεστ' vulgo (Bl). § 114 Ὀρχομενὸν: cp. 5 § 21.

§ 14 l. 121 τοὺς S etc (Weil, Th, and Bl² in *Rhein Mus* xlv 15): om A Y O (Bl¹). § 122 λογοποιούσι (+ν Bl) περιμόντες τινὲς S A Y: λ. τινες περιμόντες vulgo.

§ 15 l. 124 γ' vulgo (Bl): om S (Weil, Th). § 125 ἐπὶ om Cobet (retaining συμβάλλειν *committere ad pugnam*). § συλλαμβάνειν con Weil (Bl, Th): συμβάλλειν S A Y, συνεισβάλλειν vulgo.

- προσδόκιμος. τοὺς μὲν ὄντας ἐχθροὺς Θηβαίων
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ, οὓς δ' ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὸς
 πρότερον Φωκέας νῦν σφῆζει; καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα,
 16 πιστεύσειεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι
 Φίλιππον, οὐτ' εἰ τὰ πρῶτα βιασθεὶς ἄκων
 ἔπραξεν, οὐτ' ἂν εἰ νῦν ἀπεγίγνωσκεν Θηβαίους,
 τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι· ἀλλ'
 p. 70 ἀφ' ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ, κακεῖν' ἐκ προαιρέσεως δηλός¹²
 ἐστὶ ποιήσας, ἐκ πάντων δ', ἃν τις ὀρθῶς θεωρῇ,
 πάνθ' ἃ πραγματεύεται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συν-
 17 τάττων. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τινὰ αὐτῷ
 νῦν γε δὴ συμβαίνει. λογίζεσθε γάρ· ἄρχειν βού-
 λεται, τούτου δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπέληφεν¹³
 ὑμᾶς. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸς
 ἄριστα συνοιδ' αὐτῷ· οἷς γὰρ οὐσιν ὑμετέροις
 ἔχει, τούτοις πάντα τᾶλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται·
 εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτεΐδαιαν προεῖτο, οὐδ'
 18 ἂν οἶκοι μένειν βεβαίως ἡγεῖται. ἀμφοτέρ' ¹⁴

l. 128 μὲν S L¹ (Voemel, Bl): + οὖν vulgo (Weil, Th).

§ 16 l. 131 οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι marg B and Priscian xviii § 166 (Weil, Th); ἡγ. οὐκ ἂν B F; οὐδ' ἂν ἡγ. S etc, and Priscian xviii § 195 (Voemel); ἡγοῦμαι Bl. || 134 ἐχθροῖς om Wecklein Philol 1879 p. 172. || 136 θεωρῇ A (Bekker); θεωρεῖ S L alone; θεωροῖ vulgo. || 137 πάνθ' a Foertsch cp. 8 § 43 (Weil, Bl, Th); πάντα S; ὅτι πάντα vulgo.

§ 17 l. 138 [αὐτῷ] and 139 [συμβαίνει] Bl¹ coll. [10] § 12 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τινὰ νῦν γε δὴ ποιεῖ. || 140 ὑπέληφεν MSS (Weil, Th), ὑπέληφ' Bl.; ὑπέληφως ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖ κτλ Roiske; μόνους οὓς ὑπέληφεν, ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖ con Weil. || 143 ἔχει S¹ alone: + χρῆσθαι vulgo, as in [10] § 12, cp. Cobet MC 23 f. || [ἀσφαλῶς] Bl, βεβαίως [10] § 12 (Bl²). || 145 βεβαίως ἡγεῖται Cobet MC 24 (Weil); β. ἡγεῖτο S A Y O (Th), β. ἡγοῖτο vulgo; ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύνατο S A in [10] § 12 (hence [βεβαίως] ἡδύνατο Bl¹); ἀσφαλῶς ἡγεῖτο vulgo in [10] § 12 (hence ἀσφαλῆς ἡγοῖτο B², cp. 24 § 165 τί οἶσθ' ὅπου ἀνθρώποι πένη . . . μηδ' οἶκοι μένειν ἀσφαλῆς ἡγοῖτο).

οὖν οἶδε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλευόντα, καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δ' ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων, δικαίως αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζει, καὶ παρώξυνται, πείσεσθαι τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, ἂν μὴ φθάσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος. διὰ 19 ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει τινάς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταῦτά βουλομένους τούτοις, οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντ' ἀγαπήσειν οἴεται, διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα 20 τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲν προόψεσθαι. καίτοι σωφρονουσί γε καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ παραδείγματ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ἔμοιγ' εἰπεῖν συνέβη, βέλτιον δ' ἴσως καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔστιν εἰρησθαι.

“ Πῶς γὰρ οἶεσθ' ” ἔφην “ ὦ ἄνδρες Μεσ- 20 σήνιοι δυσχερῶς ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἰ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθεμούντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀφίει, ἥς πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο, 25 Ποτεΐδαιαν δ' ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίον ἀποίκους

§ 18 l. 146 οἶδεν S. || 148 δικαίως om S¹ in [10] § 13 μισεῖν αὐτὸν ἡγείται, [] Bl. || δ. ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζοι S and vulgo (Voemel); ἂν om A and [10] § 13 (Bekker etc.). || νομίζει F¹ (Bekker etc.). || 150 [πρότερος] † Bl.

§ 19 l. 151 ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει Reiske (Weil, Bl); ἐφέστηκεν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει S O (Voemel, Th). || 152 τινάς, Θηβαίους S L alone (Weil, Bl), τινάς Θηβαίους Voemel, τινάς Θηβαίων vulgo; [τινάς] Dobree, τινὰς; Rehdantz (Th). || 159 ἔστιν S (Weil, Th), ἔστ' Bl: ἔστι before kal vulgo.

§ 20 ll. 160 f πῶς . . . [δυσχερῶς] Heimsöeth; but Weil quotes l § 24 πῶς . . . ἐτοίμως. || 163 ἀφίει S, Voemel Proleg p. 77: ἡφίει vulgo. || ἥς S L Y, Harpocr. Ἀνθεμούς· πόλις ἐστὶ Μακεδονική. καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἀνθεμούντιοι: οὐ vulgo (Bl), Thuc ii 20 § 6, Aristides i 713, Libanius iv 249.

- p. 71 ἐκβάλλων, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνῆρητο, τὴν χώραν δ' ἐκείνοις ἐδεδώκει καρποῦσθαι; ἄρα προσδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι, ἢ λέγοντος ἄν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθε;
- 21 ἀλλ' ὁμως" ἔφην ἐγὼ "μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλ-¹¹ λοτρίαν καρπωσάμενοι, πολὺν τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται, αἰσχυρῶς ἐκπεσόντες, οὐ κρατη-
θέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις
- 22 αἰ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταὶ λίαν ὀμιλῖαι. τί¹² δ' οἱ Θετταλοί; ἄρ' οἴεσθ'" ἔφην, "ὄτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου, προσδοκᾶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν νῦν δεκαδαρχίαν ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν ὑποδόντα, τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν¹³ προσόδους παραιρήσεσθαι; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονεν ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν
- 23 εἰδέναι. ὑμεῖς δ'" ἔφην ἐγὼ "διδόντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενον θεωρεῖτε Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ' ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρουμένον, ἀπεύχεσθ', εἰ σω-¹⁵

l. 166 ἐκβάλλων S ('*cum ciciebat*, non *cum cicissat*' Voemel, Bl): ἐκβαλῶν vulgo (Weil, Th). || 169 πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθε S alone (Weil, Bl, Th); πιστεῦσαι, οἴεσθε Voemel; [οἴεσθε] Herwerden, Rosenberg, † Weil; 'malim πιστεύειν οἴεσθε' Bl: πιστεῦσαι; οὐκ οἴεσθέ γε vulgo (οὐκ om F).

§ 21 l. 171 αὐτῶν S L (Voemel, Weil, Th): αὐτῶν vulgo (Bl).

§ 22 l. 177 ἐξέβαλλε A B Y (Weil, Bl, Th): ἐξέβαλε S L (Voemel). || 179 δεκαδαρχίαν mss and Harpocration s.v.: τετραρχίαν Reiske, Cobet, coll 9 § 26 and Harpocration s.v. || αὐτοῖς S etc (Bl, Th): αὐτοῖς Voemel, Weil. || 180 αὐτῶν mss (Bl): αὐτῶν Voemel, Weil, Th. || 182 γέγονεν Bl: γέγωνε mss u u u.

§ 23 l. 184 θεωρεῖτε: ἡδέως ὁράτε Cobet. || 185 ἀπεύχεσθε S L etc: ἀπεύχεσθε A Y etc; v.l. ἀπεύχεσθε (Cobet).

φρονεῖτε δὴ, ἰδεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν νῆ Δί' " ἔφην
 ἐγὼ " παντοδαπὰ εὐρημένα ταῖς πόλεσιν πρὸς
 φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ
 τείχη καὶ τάφροι καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα τοιαῦτα. καὶ 24
 ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἅπαντα χειροποίητα καὶ δαπάνης
 προσδεῖται· ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ἢ φύσις τῶν εὖ
 φρονούντων ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον, ὃ
 πᾶσι μὲν ἔστ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτήριον, μάλιστα
 δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσιν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους. τί οὖν
 195 ἔστι τοῦτο; ἀπιστία. ταύτην φυλάττετε, ταύτης
 ἀντέχεσθε· ἂν ταύτην σφίξῃ, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν
 πάθῃτε. τί ζητεῖτ' ;" ἔφην. " ἐλευθερίαν. εἰτ' 25
 οὐχ ὁρᾶτε Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριωτάτας ταύτη καὶ p. 72
 τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντα ; βασιλεὺς γὰρ καὶ
 200 τύραννος ἅπας ἐχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις
 ἐναντίος. οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως " ἔφην " μὴ πολέ-
 μου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεσπότην εὕρητε ;",
 Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες 26
 ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους λόγους

l. 186 δὴ S L (Weil, Th): om Bl, 'fuit varia lectio ἀπεύ-
 ξεσθε, ἀν σωφρονήτε; ex hoc AN factum puto istud. ΔΗ' Bl.

§ 24 l. 190 ταῦτα mss (Weil, Th): τὰ Stobaeus 43, 52 (Bl). || —
 196 μὴ δεινὸν S L² and Stobaeus: δεινὸν μὴ vulgo.

§ 25 l. 198 ἀλλοτριωτάτας . . . τὰς προσηγορίας mss (Weil,
 Th): ἀλλοτριώματα . . . ταῖς προσηγορίαις Bl, cp. Aristides
 i 781 καὶ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ ἀπάντων ἐναντιώματα ἔχει, and 560
 (ἡ τῶν δούλων φύσις) καθάπερ τῷ προσήματι τοῖς δεσπότηταις
 ἐναντία κτλ, also Slameczka *Zschr. f. österr. Gymn.* 1886,
 622. || 200 f ἐχθρὸς . . . ἐναντίος mss (Weil, Th): ἐχθρὸν . . .
 ἐναντίον Stobaeus 49, 23 and (omitting ἅπας) Libanius iii 410
 (Bl); βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἅπας καὶ τύραννος (Δ Υ) ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις
 ἐναντίον (Δ) Bl², as in Schol Aristeid 629, where ἐναντίος how-
 ever is found. || 201 πολέμου: πολέμιον preferred by Weil. ||
 202 ἀπαλλαγῆναι: ἀπαλλαγῆναι Cobet, cp. 18 § 145 (Bl²). ||
 εὕρητε: εὕρησθε Cobet.

παρὰ τῶν πρέσβων καὶ παρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀποσχέσονται τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ' ὧν ἐπαγγέλλεται. καὶ οὐ τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ Πελοποννησίων τινὲς παρ' ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ' ὁρῶσί τι πράξουσιν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθε, ὡς περιστοιχίζεσθε, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἤδη ποιῆσαι λήσεθ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνθ' ὑπομείναντες· οὕτως ἢ παραντίχ' ἡδονὴ καὶ ῥαστώνη μείζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὕστερον συνοίσειν μέλλοντος.

28 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον βουλευέσεσθ', ἂν σωφρονήτε· ἃ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ δέοντ' ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

<ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ>

Ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπέισθητε

§ 27 l. 210 ὁρῶσιν S (Weil). || *ei* ὑμεῖς Index Lambini (Dind). || 211 τῶν om Libanius iv 350 (Bl²). || 212 περιστοιχίζεσθε A Y, corr L, γρ S (S¹ περιστοιχ.), also Libanius iv 350, 26 (Weil, Th): περιτειχίζεσθε L¹, corr S (Bl). || ἐκ τοῦ Y; ὡς ἐκ τοῦ vulgo, ὡς τοῦ (with ἐκ above ὡς) L¹; τοῦ Rehdantz: ὥστε S¹ (Voemel), hard to reconcile with λήσετε, cp. Franke *Neue Jahrb* 1865, 358. || 213 ποιῆσαι S¹ L¹ B F O: ποιῆν A (Voemel), cp. § § 53. || λήσεθ' vulgo, λήσετε A, γρ B: λήσεσθ' S¹ L B F (Voemel). || 216 συνοίσειν μέλλοντος MSS: συνοίσοντος Bl, cp. Isidor v 186, i 174.

§ 28 l. 220 ταῦτ' ἤδη vulgo (Bl), cp. 4 § 29; 60 §§ 9, 27; 61 § 34: ταῦτα δὴ S L¹ (Voemel, Weil, Th). || <ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ> Abbé d'Olivet and Dobree (Voemel, Bl, Th): not inserted by Weil.

ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, καλεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς 29
 ἂν. ποθ' ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς οἴδ'
 135 ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξειν
 τυχόντ' εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ᾤεσθε· ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ
 τούτων ἀφεστηκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. καὶ
 πύλιν γ' ἐτέρους καλεῖν. τίνας; τοὺς ὅτ' ἐγὼ
 γεγονυίας ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας
 130 ἦκων πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, αἰσθόμενος p. 73
 φενακιζομένην τὴν πόλιν, προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρ-
 γυρόμεν καὶ οὐκ εἶων προέσθαι Πύλας οὐδὲ
 Φωκέας, λέγοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδωρ πίνων 30
 εἰκότως δύστροπος καὶ δύσκολός εἰμί τις ἄνθρω-
 135 πος, Φίλιππος δ', ἅπερ εὐχαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἂν
 παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιδᾶς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιᾶς
 τειχιεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως, Χερ-
 ρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσιν διορύξει, Εὐβοίαν
 δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν
 140 ἀποδώσει· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος
 ἐνταῦθα μνημονεύετ' οἷδ' ὅτι ρηθέντα, καίπερ
 ὄντες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μεμνήσθαι. καὶ 31
 τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον, καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς
 τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ταύτην
 145 ἐψηφίσασθε· οὕτω τελέως ὑπήχθητε. τί δὴ
 ταῦτα νῦν λέγω καὶ καλεῖν φημι δεῖν τούτους;
 ἐγὼ νῦν τοὺς θεοὺς ἀληθῆ μετὰ παρρησίας ἐρώ

§ 30 l. 238 αὐτοῦ a few unimportant mss (Weil, Bl, Th): αὐτοῦ (Voemel, who adds 'recte per asperum, si mere reflexivum postulatur; gravior est oppositio per lenem, quem tumentur reliqui mei codices'). || 240 ἅπαντ' most mss (Weil, Th) ὅπαντ': πάντ' B (Bl); 'in ἅπαντ' latet fortasse a πάντ', ut delendum sit ταῦτα γὰρ' Bl.

§ 32 ll. 246-7 τούτους; ἐγὼ vulgo: τούτους ἐγὼ B (; Voemel).

- 32 πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. οὐχ ἔν', εἰς
λοιδορίαν ἐμπεσών, ἐμαντῶ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λόγον
παρ' ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δ' ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν
ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ νῦν παράσχω πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν
τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππου, οὐδ' ἔν' ὥς ἄλλως
ἀδολεσχῶ· ἀλλ' οἶομαι ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυπήσειν ἃ
- 33 Φίλιππος πράττει μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νυνί· τὸ γὰρ
πρᾶγμ' ὁρῶ προβαίνον, καὶ οὐχὶ βουλοίμην ἂν
εἰκάζειν ὁρθῶς, φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς
ἦ τοῦτ' ἤδη. ὅταν οὖν μηκέθ' ὑμῖν ἀμελεῖν
ἐξουσία γίγνηται τῶν συμβαινόντων, μηδ' ἀκούηθ'
ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δεινός,
ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πάντες ὁρᾶτε καὶ εὖ εἰδήτε, ὀργίλους
- 34 καὶ τραχεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι νομίζω. φοβοῦμαι δὴ
μὴ, τῶν πρέσβων σεσιωπηκότων ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοῖς
- p. 74 συνίσασι δεδοροδοκηκότες, τοῖς ἐπανορθοῦν τι
πειρωμένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολωλότες τῇ
παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περιπεσεῖν συμβῇ· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὥς
τὰ πόλλ' ἐνίοις οὐκ εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ' εἰς
τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας.
- 35 ἕως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνίσταται τὰ πρᾶγματα
καὶ κατακούομεν ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστον ὑμῶν καίπερ

§ 32 l. 251 καὶ νῦν παράσχω πρόφασιν S A Y (Weil, Th): in other MSS καὶ νῦν is placed after πρόφασιν, or appears as *καὶ νῦν* or *κενὴν* either before παράσχω or after πρόφασιν; [καὶ νῦν] Bl. || 252 ὥς S L¹ B: τὴν vulgo, Photius *την ἄλλως* . . . ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς περὶ Δημοσθένην. || 253 οἶομαι S L (Bl, Th): οἶμαι vulgo (Weil).

§ 33 l. 255 βουλοίμην S L¹ O (Weil): + μὲν vulgo (Bl, Th).

§ 34 l. 263 δεδοροδοκηκότες S L¹: -κοσι vulgo.

§ 35 l. 268 τὰ πρᾶγματα ! om Bl, thus gaining a more symmetrical correspondence between *ἕως—ἀλλήλων* and *ἕκαστον—βούλομαι*.

ἀκριβῶς εἰδόθ' ὅμως ἐπαναμνήσαι βούλομαι, τίς
 ὁ Φωκέας πείσας καὶ Πύλας προέσθαι, ὧν
 καταστὰς ἐκεῖνος κύριος, τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν
 ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονεν,
 καὶ πεποίηχ' ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδ'
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλήν,
 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν
 Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, ὃς λυπήσει μὲν ἕκαστον,
 ἐπειδὰν παρῇ, γέγονεν δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.
 εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε τόθ' ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν 36
 ἦν τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα· οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ δῆπου
 κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθεν ἂν ποτε στόλῳ
 Φίλιππος, οὔτε πεζῇ βαδίζων ὑπὲρ τὰς Πύλας
 καὶ Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ δίκαι' ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν
 εἰρήνην ἄγων ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἢ παραχρήμ' ἂν
 ἦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ, δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης
 ἐπεθύμησεν. ταῦτ' οὖν, ὡς μὲν ὑπομνήσαι, νῦν 37
 ἱκανῶς εἴρηται, ὡς δ' ἂν ἐξετασθεῖη μάλιστα
 ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτ', ὥ πάντες θεοί· οὐδένα γὰρ
 βουλοίμην ἔγωγ' ἂν, οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολω-
 λέναι, μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας
 δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.

1. 270 ἐπαναμνήσαι vulgo: ἐπαναμνήσκεσθαι S L¹ only (Voemel, Rehdantz), ascribed by Weil to a variant ἐπαναμνήσκεν written above ἐπαναμνήσαι, one MS (Aug 2) actually having ἐπαναμνήσαι. || 271 πείσας S L A: + ὑμᾶς Y. || Πύλας A Y (Bl): + ποιήσας S L only (Voemel), for which Weil conjectures τόθ' ὑμᾶς, regarding τόθ' as explained by ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (278), and ascribing ποιήσας to πείσας having been written above τόθ' ὑμᾶς: Π. ὑμᾶς Bekker, Th. || 278 γέγονεν here and in 273 S etc (Weil, Bl): γέγονε (-ν in 273) Th.

§ 37 1. 289 ἔγωγ' ἂν S L: ἂν ἔγωγε vulgo.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΩΙ

p. 90 "Εδει μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς λέγοντας
 ἅπαντας, μήτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιείσθαι λόγον
 μηδένα μήτε πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλ' ὃ βέλτιστον
 ἕκαστος ἡγείτο, τοῦτ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἄλλως τε
 καὶ περὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων καὶ μεγάλων ὑμῶν,
 βουλευομένων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔνιοι τὰ μὲν φιλονικία,
 τὰ δ' ἡτινιδήποτ' αἰτία προάγονται λέγειν, ὑμᾶς
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πολλοὺς δεῖ πάντα
 τᾶλλ' ἀφελόντας, ἃ τῇ πόλει νομίζετε συμφέρειν,
 2 ταῦτα καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ πράττειν. ἡ μὲν
 οὖν σπουδὴ περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πραγμάτων
 ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς στρατείας, ἣν ἐνδέκατον μῆνα
 τουτουὶ Φίλιππος ἐν Θράκῃ ποιεῖται· τῶν δὲ
 λόγων οἱ πλείστοι περὶ ὧν Διοπίθης πράττει

§ 1 l. 2 ἅπαντας § L¹, Rufus iii 451: + ἐν ὑμῶν vulgo. ||
 λόγων mss: τοὺς λόγους Rufus (Bl). || 3 μηδένα <μηδεὶνός> Bl²,
 cp. Dio Cassius 450 π χρῆναι μηδένα μηδεὶνός χάριν μηδὲ πρὸς
 φιλονικίαν λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὃ βέλτιστον ἕκαστος εἶναι νομίζει, τοῦτ'
 ἀποφαίνεσθαι. || 6 ἐπεὶ § L (Weil, Th), 'simplex rarius est apud
 Dem, sed cf Polycl § 23, Boeot i § 32' Voemel: ἐπειδὴ vulgo
 (Bl). || φιλονικία Bl, Th: φιλονεικία mss (Weil), cp. 5 § 3. ||
 9 ἀφελόντας § L¹, cp. Prooem 56 § 2 and Or 23 §§ 20 f, where
 ἀφελών and ἀφελῆ are synonymous, and Prooem 12 § 2 ἀφελώ-
 ντας: ἀφέντας vulgo (Cobet).

15 καὶ μέλλει ποιεῖν εἰρηνταί. ἐγὼ δ', ὅσα μὲν τις
 αἰτιάται τινα τούτων, οὐς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐφ'
 ὑμῖν ἐστιν, ὅταν βούλησθε, κολάζειν, κὰν ἥδη
 δοκῇ κὰν ἐπισχοῦσιν περὶ αὐτῶν σκοπεῖν ἐγ-
 χωρεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ οὐ πᾶν δεῖ περὶ τούτων
 20 οὐτ' ἐμ' οὐτ' ἄλλον οὐδέν' ἰσχυρίζεσθαι· ὅσα δ' 3
 ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνάμει πολλῇ
 περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ὦν πειράται προλαβεῖν, κὰν
 ἅπαξ ὑστερήσωμεν, οὐκέθ' ἔξομεν σῶσαι, περὶ
 τούτων δ' οἶομαι τὴν ταχίστην συμφέρειν καὶ
 25 βεβουλευσθαι καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι, καὶ μὴ τοῖς p. 91
 περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θορύβοις καὶ ταῖς κατηγορίαις
 ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶναι.

Πολλὰ δὲ θαυμάζων τῶν εἰωθότων λέγεσθαι 4
 παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐδενὸς ἦττον ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 30 τεθαύμακα, ὃ καὶ πρώην τινὸς ἤκουσ' εἰπόντος
 ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ τὸν συμβουλευόντα
 ἢ πολεμεῖν ἀπλῶς ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν συμ-
 βουλευεῖν. ἔστι δέ· εἰ μὲν ἡσυχίαν Φίλιππος 5
 ἄγει, καὶ μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔχει παρὰ τὴν
 35 εἰρήνην μηδέν, μήτε συσκευάζεται πᾶντας ἀνθρώ-
 πους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐκέτι δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς
 εἰρήνην ἀκτέον, καὶ τά γ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἔτοιμ'

§ 2 l. 18 ἐπισχοῦσι ∪ ∪ ∪ A (Weil): ἐπισχοῦσιν Voemel, Bl, Th: ἐπίσχωσι S L; μικρὸν ἐπίσχωσι v.l., 'saltem scribendum foret ἐπίσχωτε' Voemel. || 19 δεῖν needlessly conjectured by H Wolf (Reiske).

§ 3 l. 21 τῇ πόλει S L¹: + Φίλιππος vulgo.

§ 4 l. 30 πρώην S, cp. 4 § 17 l. 150. || 32 τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν S eto (Weil, Bl¹, Th): ἄγειν τὴν εἰρήνην vulgo (Bl²).

§ 5 l. 33 ἐστι δέ· H Wolf (Th); ἐστι δέ, Bl; ἐστι δέ—Bekker; ἐστι δέ <τόδε> Voemel (Weil) ∪ ∪ ∪.

ὑπάρχονθ' ὁρῶ· εἰ δ', ἃ μὲν ὠμόσαμεν καὶ ἐφ'
 οἷς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιησάμεθα, ἔστ' ἰδεῖν καὶ
 6 γεγραμμένα κεῖται, φαίνεται δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁ
 Φίλιππος, πρὶν Διοπίθην ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς
 κληροῦχους, οὓς νῦν αἰτιῶνται πεποιηκέναι τὸν
 πόλεμον, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀδίκως εἰλη-
 φώς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ψηφίσμαθ' ὑμέτερ' ἐγκαλοῦντα
 κύρια ταυτί, πάντα δὲ τὸν χρόνον συνεχῶς τὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων λαμβάνων
 καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευαζόμενος, τί τοῦτο λέγουσιν,
 7 ὥς πολεμεῖν ἢ ἄγειν εἰρήνην δεῖ; οὐ γὰρ αἵρεσις
 ἔστιν ἡμῖν τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλ' ὑπολείπεται
 τὸ δικαιοτάτον καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατον τῶν ἔργων
 ὃ υπερβαίνουσιν ἐκόντες οὗτοι. τί οὖν ἐστὶ
 τοῦτο; ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν πρότερον πολεμοῦνθ' ἡμῖν.
 πλὴν εἰ τοῦτο λέγουσι νῆ Δί', ὥς, ἂν ἀπέχχεται
 τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς Φίλιππος, οὗτ'
 8 ἀδικεῖ τὴν πόλιν, οὔτε ποιεῖ πόλεμον. εἰ δ'
 ἐκ τούτων τὰ δίκαια τίθενται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην
 p. 92 ταύτην ὀρίζονται, ὅτι μὲν δῆπουθεν οὐθ' ὅσι' οὐτ'

l. 39 ἔστιν mss (Weil, Th).

§ 6 l. 45 τὸν om O¹ (Dobree, Dind); 'sed intellige bellum a Diopithe inceptum' Voemel.

§ 7 l. 50 καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατον om (ἀσφὸρ δικαιοτάτον) S L¹ (Voemel, Bekker). || 52 πρότερον πολεμοῦνθ' ἡμῖν mss (Voemel, Weil, Th), (ὡμῶν S L): εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀρξάντα Bl¹ (or ὑπάρξαντα Bl², cp. 19 § 280), cp. scholiast on Aristeides p. 196 Δημοσθένει· ἀμύνασθε τὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀρξάντα (or ὑπάρξαντα). || 53 πλὴν εἰ S etc: + μὴ Δ (ei μὴ having probably been a v.l. for πλὴν ei, Rehdantz). || λέγουσι νῆ Δί' ὡς Vind I (v.l. ἔως): λέγουσιν ἰδίως S¹ L¹. || 54 καὶ om S¹ L¹ (Dind), but cp. 9 § 10. || Φίλιππος S¹ L¹ (Φίλιππος, Voemel, Bl; , Φίλιππος Th); ὁ Φ., vulgo (Weil).

§ 8 l. 57 ταύτην most mss; [] Rosenberg: ταύτῃ μαχίῃ of O (Dind), with hiatus; hence ταύτῃ διορίζονται Westermann.

ἀνεκτὰ λέγουσιν οὐθ' ὑμῖν ἀσφαλῆ, δηλόν ἐστιν
 ἅπασιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐναντία συμβαίνει ταῖς
 60 κατηγορίαις, ἃς Διοπίθους κατηγοροῦσι, καὶ
 αὐτὰ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτοῦς. / τί γὰρ δήποτε τῷ
 μὲν Φιλίππῳ πάντα τᾶλλα ποιεῖν ἐξουσίαν
 δώσομεν, ἂν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπέχῃται, τῷ Διοπίθει
 δ' οὐδὲ βοηθεῖν τοῖς Θραξὶν ἐξέσται, ἢ πόλεμον
 65 ποιεῖν αὐτὸν φήσομεν; ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία, ταῦτα 9
 μὲν ἐξελέγχονται, δεινὰ ποιοῦσι δ' οἱ ξένοι περι-
 κόπτοντες τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ Διοπίθης
 ἀδικεῖ κατὰ γων τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ δεῖ μὴ ὑπερέπειν
 αὐτῷ. ἔστω, γυγνέσθω ταῦτ', οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγω.
 70 οἷμαι μέντοι δεῖν, εἴπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι 10
 δικαίοις ταῦτα συμβουλευούσιν, ὥσπερ τὴν ὑπ-
 ἄρχουσαν τῇ πόλει δύναμιν καταλῦσαι ζητοῦσι,
 τὸν ἐφεστηκότα καὶ πορίζοντα χρήματα ταύτῃ
 διαβάλλοντες ἐν ὑμῖν, οὕτω τὴν Φιλίππου δύ-
 75 ναμιν δεῖξαι διαλυθησομένην, ἂν ὑμεῖς ταῦτα
 πεισθῆτε. εἰ δὲ μὴ, σκοπεῖθ' ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο
 ποιοῦσιν ἢ καθιστᾶσι τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν
 τρόπον δι' οὗ τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ' ἅπαντ'

l. 60 κατηγοροῦσι Weil, Bl: -σιν MSS (Voemel, Th). || καὶ αὐτὰ: κατ' αὐτὰ Halm. || 64 [ἐξέσται] Rosenberg.

§ 9 l. 66 δεινὰ ποιοῦσι δ' S (δεινὰ ποιοῦσι forming practically one word): δεινὰ δὲ ποιοῦσιν vulgo. || 67 τὰ vulgo (Weil, Bl); om S L¹ Y¹; τὰν Th. || 68 ὑπερέπειν Bl, Th: ἐπιτρέπειν S (Voemel, Weil).

§ 10 l. 72 ζητοῦσιν S etc (Weil). || 78 τὰ παρόντα (om Dobree, Bl) πρ. S L¹ A Y (Weil, Th); Voemel understands this as = τὰ δεῖ παρόντα, and Weil conjectures τὰ παρόντ' δεῖ πάντ': τὰ παρελθόντα πρ. vulgo (Dind, Cobet) makes good sense but is not Demosthenic.

- 11 ἀπολώλεκεν. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων πλέον κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, ἢ τῷ πρότερος πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι γίνεσθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔχων δύναμιν συνεστηκυῖαν αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ προειδὼς ἂ βούλεται πράξαι, ἐξαίφνης ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτῷ δόξῃ πάρεστιν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴν πυθώμεθά τι γιγνόμενον, τηνικαῦτα θορυβούμεθα·
- 12 καὶ παρασκευαζόμεθα. εἴτ' οἶμαι συμβαίνει τῷ μὲν, ἐφ' ἂν ἔλθῃ, ταῦτ' ἔχειν κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν, ἡμῖν δ' ὑστερίζειν, καὶ ὅς' ἂν δαπανήσωμεν, ἅπαντα μίτην ἀνηλωκέναι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι κωλύειν ἐνδεδεῖσθαι, ὑστερίζοντας δὲ τῶν ἔργων αἰσχύνην προσοφλισκάνειν.
- 13 Μὴ τοίνυν ἀγνοεῖτ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι καὶ τὰ νῦν τᾶλλα μὲν ἐστὶ λόγοι ταῦτα καὶ προφάσεις, πράττεται δὲ καὶ κατασκευάζεται τοῦτο, ὅπως, ὑμῶν μὲν οἰκοὶ μενόντων, ἔξω δὲ μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης τῇ πόλει δυνάμεως, μετὰ πλείστης ἡσυχίας ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεται Φίλιππος διοικῆσεται. θεωρεῖτε γὰρ τὸ παρὸν πρῶτον, ὃ γίγνεται.
- 14 νεται. νυνὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἐκείνος ἔχων ἐν

l. 79 ἀπολώλεκεν (sc. ἡ πόλις) S (Voemel, Bl, Th): ἀπόλωλεν vulgo (Cobet, Weil, cp. 4 § 46 τὰ δὲ πράγματ' ἐκ τούτων ἀπόλωλεν).

§ 11 l. 85 τι om Bl (υ υ υ), 'not in place here as in 4 § 41.' || τηνικαῦτα <καὶ> ? Bl, to avoid υ υ υ.

§ 12 l. 87 ἂν Voemel (Weil, Bl): ἂ ἂν S etc (Th). || 89 ἀνηλωκέναι, the form generally found in the best mss (e.g. 18 §§ 9, 66, 279; Voemel *Proleg* § 64): ἀναλωκέναι S L.

§ 13 l. 94 τὰ νῦν S L (Voemel, Weil, Th): νῦν vulgo (Bl). || τᾶλλα Voemel, Th. || 95 καὶ κ. τοῦτο S L (Voemel, Weil, Th): τοῦτο καὶ κ. vulgo (Bl).

Θράκη διατρίβει, καὶ μεταπέμπεται πολλήν,
 ὡς φασιν οἱ παρόντες, ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας καὶ
 Θετταλίας. ἐὰν οὖν περιμείνας τοὺς ἐτησίαις
 ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον ἐλθὼν πολιορκῇ, πρῶτον μὲν
 105 οἴεσθε τοὺς Βυζαντίους μενεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοίας
 τῆς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ νῦν, καὶ οὔτε παρακαλεῖν
 ὑμᾶς οὔτε βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσειν; ἐγὼ μὲν 15
 οὐκ οἶμαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τισι μᾶλλον ἀπιστοῦσιν
 ἢ ἡμῖν, καὶ τούτους εἰσφρήσεσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ
 110 κείνῳ παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν, ἂν περ μὴ φθᾷσῃ
 λαβὼν αὐτούς. οὐκοῦν ἡμῶν μὲν μὴ δυναμένων
 ἐνθένδ' ἀναπλεῦσαι, ἐκεῖ δὲ μηδεμιᾶς ὑπαρχού-
 σης ἐτοίμου βοηθείας, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλέναι
 κωλύσει. νῆ Δία, κακοδαιμονῶσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι 16
 115 καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἀνοία. πάνυ γε, ἀλλ' ὅμως
 αὐτοὺς δεῖ σῶς εἶναι· συμφέρει γὰρ τῇ πόλει.
 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γε δηλὸν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὡς
 ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον οὐχ ᾗξει· ἀλλ' εἴγ' ἐκ τῆς
 ἐπιστολῆς δεῖ σκοπεῖν ἥς ἐπεμψε πρὸς ὑμᾶς,

§ 14 l. 102 παρόντες, Voemel, Weil, Th: παρόντες Bl. || ἀπὸ
 mss ◡ ◡ ◡: ἐκ Schol on Hermog vi 362 (Bl). || 103 περιμείνας
 vulgo: παραμείνας S; ἐπιμείνας Schol Hermog. || 105 μενεῖν:
 μένειν S L A. || 106 παρακαλεῖν Cobet, Bl, Th: παρακαλέσειν
 mss (Voemel, Weil). || 107 βοηθεῖν vulgo: βοηθήσειν S L
 (Voemel).

§ 15 ll. 109 f ἢ κείνῳ Voemel Proleg § 11. || 111 αὐτοῖς
 nearly all mss (v.l. αὐτοῖς): αὐτὸς Dobree, 'potius delevisset'
 Voemel. || 112 ὑπαρχούσης mss: οὐσης Aristides ix 372 (ascribed
 by Bl to l. 97 or to addition of οὐσης ἐτοίμου as explanation of
 ὑπαρχούσης).

§ 16 l. 114 κακοδαιμονῶσι H Wolf, Lobeck, Cobet: κακοδα-
 μονοῖσι mss and rhetoricians (reluctantly retained by Voemel). ||
 116 [αὐτοῖς] Bl¹. || 117 δηλὸν ὑπάρχει? Bl, cp. Libanius iv
 56, 11.

- 17 ἀμυνεῖσθαι φησι τοὺς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ. ἂν μὲν
 p. 94 τοῖνυν ἢ τὸ συνεστηκὸς στράτευμα, καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ
 βοηθήσαι δυνήσεται καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου τι κακῶς
 ποιῆσαι· εἰ δ' ἅπαξ διαλυθήσεται, τί ποιήσομεν,
 ἂν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον ἴῃ; κρινοῦμεν Διοπεΐθην νῆ
 Δία. καὶ τί τὰ πράγματ' ἔσται βελτίω; ἀλλ'
 ἐνθένδ' ἂν βοηθήσαιμεν αὐτοί. ἂν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν
 πνευμάτων μὴ δυνώμεθα; ἀλλὰ μὰ Δε' οὐχ ἤξει.
 18 καὶ τίς ἐγγυητής ἐστι τούτου; ἄρ' ὁράτε καὶ
 λογιζέσθ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὥραν
 τοῦ ἔτους, εἰς ἣν ἔρημόν τινες οἴονται δεῖν τὸν
 Ἑλλήσποντον ὑμῶν ποιῆσαι καὶ παραδοῦναι
 Φιλίππῳ; τί δ', ἂν ἀπελθὼν ἐκ Θράκης καὶ
 μηδὲ προσελθὼν Χερρονήσῳ μηδὲ Βυζαντίῳ (καὶ
 γὰρ ταῦτα λογιζέσθε) ἐπὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ Μέγαρ'
 ἦκη τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν πρῶην,
 πότερον κρεῖττον ἐνθάδ' αὐτὸν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ
 προσελθεῖν τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἑάσαι,
 ἢ κατασκευάζειν ἐκεῖ τιν' ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ; ἐγὼ
 μὲν οἶομαι τοῦτο.
 19 Ταῦτα τοῖνυν ἅπαντας εἰδότας καὶ λογιζο-
 μένους χρή, οὐ μὰ Δε' οὐχ ἦν Διοπεΐθης πειράται
 τῇ πόλει δύναμιν παρασκευάζειν, ταύτην βα-

§ 17 l. 120 ἂν τοῖνυν μέν Tournier. || 121 συνεστηκὸς S L¹:
 + τοῦτο vulgo (cp. l. 351). || 123 διαλυθήσεται S L¹ A (cp.
 l. 75): διαφθαρήσεται καὶ διαλ. vulgo (better in inverted order,
 as in l. 152 διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρήναι). || 126 αὐτοὶ vulgo;
 αὐτοῖς A; αὐτῷ S¹ L¹. || 127 μὰ Δε' ἀλλ' οὐχ ? Bl, to avoid
 ὁμοῖον, cp. Isaicus 4 § 24.

§ 18 l. 134 γὰρ om S¹ L¹ (Voemel). || καὶ S L (cp. 9 § 17):
 † vulgo. || 135 πρῶην S.

§ 19 l. 141 οὐ S¹ L¹ (cp. l. 218): om Voemel. || πειράται
 πεπράσται con Rosenberg, om παρασκευάζειν (142).

σκαίνειν καὶ διαλύσαι πειρᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν
αὐτοὺς προσπαρασκευάζειν, καὶ συνευπορούντας
145 ἐκείνῳ χρημάτων, καὶ τὰλλ' οἰκείως συναγωνιζο-
μένους. εἰ γὰρ τις ἔροιτο Φίλιππον, "εἰπέ μοι, 20
πότερ' ἂν βούλοιο τούτους τοὺς στρατιώτας οὖς
Διοπίθης νῦν ἔχει, τοὺς ὁποιουστινασοῦν (οὐδὲν
γὰρ ἀντιλέγω), εὐθενεῖν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις
230 εὐδοξεῖν καὶ πλείους γίνεσθαι τῆς πόλεως
συναγωνιζομένης, ἢ διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ
κατηγορούντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι;"
ταῦτ' ἂν οἶμαι φήσειεν. εἰθ' ἂν Φίλιππος ἂν
εὐξαίτο τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦθ' ἡμῶν τινες ἐνθάδε p. 95
255 πρᾶττουσι; εἰτ' ἔτι ζητεῖτε πόθεν τὰ τῆς
πόλεως ἀπόλωλεν ἅπαντα;

Βούλομαι τοίνυν [ὕμᾱς] μετὰ παρρησίας 21
ἐξετάσαι τὰ παρόντα πρῶγματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ
σκέψασθαι τί ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὶ νῦν καὶ ὅπως
260 χρώμεθ' αὐτοῖς. ἡμεῖς οὔτε χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν
βουλόμεθα, οὔτ' αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε τῶν
κοινῶν ἀπέχεσθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε τὰς συντάξεις
Διοπίθει δίδομεν, οὔθ' ὅς' ἂν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ 22
πορίσῃται ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βασκαίνομεν καὶ
265 σκοποῦμεν πόθεν καὶ τί μέλλει ποιεῖν καὶ πάντα
τὰ τοιαυτί, οὔτ', ἐπειδήπερ οὕτως ἔχομεν, τὰ
ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν πρᾶττειν ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν

§ 20 l. 154 ἡμῶν ? om Bl, as contained in ἐνθάδε. || *twice*
placed after πρᾶττουσι by Bl.

§ 21 l. 157 ὕμᾱς nearly all mss (Voemel, Th); πρὸς ὕμᾱς
Vind l (Dind): om Urb, [] ? Weil, Bl. || 161 οὐδ' αὐτοὶ con
Franke. || στρατεύεσθαι § L¹: + τολμῶμεν vulgo (from [11]
§ 18).

- τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς τῆς πόλεως λέγοντας ἄξι' ἐπαι-
 νοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐναντιούμενοις
 23 τοῦτοις συναγωνιζόμεθα. ὑμεῖς μὲν τοίνυν ἡ
 εἰώθαθ' ἐκάστοτε τὸν παρίοντ' ἐρωτᾶν, τί οὖν
 χρῆ ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῆσαι βούλομαι,
 τί οὖν χρῆ λέγειν; εἰ γὰρ μήτ' εἰσολίσετε, μήτ'
 αὐτοὶ στρατεύσεσθε, μήτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀφέξεσθε,
 μήτε τὰς συντάξεις δώσετε, μήθ' ὅς' ἂν αὐτὸς ἡ
 αὐτῷ πορίσῃται ἑάσετε, μήτε τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν
 πράττειν ἐθελήσετε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. εἰ δ'
 ἤρ' ἤδη τοσαύτην ἐξουσίαν τοῖς αἰτιᾶσθαι καὶ
 διαβάλλειν βουλομένοις δίδετε, ὥστε καὶ περὶ
 ὧν φασὶ μέλλειν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἡ
 προκατηγορούντων ἀκροᾶσθαι, τί ἂν τις λέγοι;
 24 Ὁ τι τοίνυν δύναται ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐνίους
 μαθεῖν ὑμῶν δεῖ. λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας· καὶ

§ 23 l. 171 εἰώθαθ'—ἐρωτᾶν MSS: ἐκάστοτε τὸν παρίοντ' ἐρωτᾶτε? Bl, cp. [10] § 11 and Isidor ii 185 ἐπειδὴ ἐκάστοτε ἐρωτᾶς: τί οὖν χρῆ ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ σὲ ἐρήσομαι· τί οὖν χρῆ λέγειν; || 172 ἐρωτῆσαι βούλομαι MSS: ἐρήσομαι Bl, cp. Isidor l.c., and Chrysost i 288 ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ ἡδέως ἐνταῦθα ἐρήσομαι· τί οὖν δεῖ . . . ποιεῖν; || 175 αὐτὸς αὐτῷ vulgo, as in l. 163 (Voemel, Bl¹); τις αὐτῷ? Bl¹; αὐτὸς αὐτῷ Bl²: αὐτῷ S L¹ (Weil, Th): the omission of the subject may perhaps be defended in an abridged recapitulation; it is best however to have it actually expressed. The choice seems to be really between αὐτὸς αὐτῷ and αὐτῷ (not αὐτῷ) as in 9 § 2 ἡ πόλις αὐτῇ παρ' αὐτῆς (vulgo) and ἡ πόλις παρ' αὐτῆς (S). || 177-9 εἰ δ' ἤρ' . . . δίδετε proposed by Thalheim; εἰ γὰρ . . . δίδετε vulgo and Gregorius (Bl²): οἱ γὰρ . . . διδόντες (an anacoluthon) S L¹ (Weil, Bl¹). || 180 φασὶ A Y O¹ and Gregorius (Bl): ἄν φασὶ vulgo (Voemel, Weil, Th); + ὅς' GH Schaef., Hermann, Dind. || ἀκροᾶσθαι vulgo: ἀκροᾶσθε S L O (Dind).

§ 24 l. 182 ποιεῖν om Dobree, cp. § 57. || 183 δεῖ. λέξω δὲ . . . vulgo, Arieteides ix 347 and Gregorius (Weil, Th): δεῖ. λέξω S¹ L Vind 1 (Voemel); + ὅς' Bl², cp. Philo Jud vi 176 λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας; δέον, λέξω Bl¹.

γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλως δυναίμην. πάντες ὅσοι
 35 ποτ' ἐκπεπλεύκασι παρ' ὑμῶν στρατηγοί, ἢ γὰρ p. 96
 πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν τιμῶμαι, καὶ παρὰ Χίων καὶ παρ'
 Ἑρυθραίων καὶ παρ' ὧν ἂν ἕκαστοι δύνωνται,
 τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων λέγω, χρήματα
 λαμβάνουσιν. λαμβάνουσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχοντες 25
 90 μίαν ἢ δύο ναῦς ἐλάττονα, οἱ δὲ μείζω δύναμιν
 πλείονα. καὶ διδῶσιν οἱ διδόντες οὔτε τὰ μικρ'
 οὔτε τὰ πόλλ' ἄντ' οὐδενός (οὐ γὰρ οὕτω
 μαίνονται), ἀλλ' ὠνούμενοι μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς
 παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκπλέοντας ἐμπόρους, μὴ συλᾶσθαι,
 95 παραπέμπεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα τὰ αὐτῶν, τὰ τοιαῦτα·
 φασὶ δ' εὐνοίας διδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦνομ' ἔχει
 τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα. καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τῷ Διοσίτῃ 26
 στράτευμ' ἔχοντι σαφῶς ἐστὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι
 δώσουσι χρήματα πάντες οὗτοι· πόθεν γὰρ
 100 οἴεσθ' ἄλλοθεν τὸν μῆτε λαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν
 μηδὲν μὴτ' αὐτὸν ἔχονθ' ὁπόθεν μισθοδοτήσῃ,
 στρατιώτας τρέφειν; ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; οὐκ ἐστὶ
 ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἀγείρει καὶ προσαιτεῖ καὶ
 δανείζεται, ἀπὸ τούτων διάγει· οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο 27
 95 ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες ἐν ὑμῖν ἢ προλέ-
 γουσιν ἅπασι μηδ' ὅτιοῦν ἐκείνῳ διδόναι, ὥς καὶ
 τοῦ μελλῆσαι δώσουντι δίκην, μὴ τι ποιήσαντί
 γ' ἢ καταπραξαμένῳ. τοῦτ' εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι·
 "μέλλει πολιορκεῖν, τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκδίδωσι."
 100 μέλει γάρ τινι τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων

l. 185 ποτ' S L, Vind l: πώποτ' vulgo and Hermog iii 412, Aristides, Gregorius; πώ ποτ' Bl².

§ 27 l. 208 συγκαταπραξαμένῳ A. || 209 πολιορκεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Bl. || 210 [τούτων] Bl.

Ἑλλήνων· ἀμείνους μέντ' ἂν εἰεν τῶν ἄλλων ἢ
 28 τῆς πατρίδος κήδεσθαι· καὶ τό γ' εἰς τὸν
 Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσπέμπειν ἕτερον στρατηγὸν τοῦτ'
 ἔστιν. εἰ γὰρ δεινὰ ποιεῖ Διοπίθης καὶ κατάγει
 τὰ πλοῖα, μικρὸν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μικρὸν·
 p. 97 πινάκιον ταῦτα πάντα κωλύσαι δύναται ἂν, καὶ
 λέγουσιν οἱ νόμοι, ταῦτα τοὺς ἀδικούντας εἰσαγ-
 γέλλειν, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐ δαπάναις καὶ τριήρεσιν
 τοσαύταις ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό
 29 γ' ἔστιν ὑπερβολὴ μανίας· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς·
 ἐχθρούς, οὓς οὐκ ἔστιν λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις,
 καὶ στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ τριήρεις ἐκπέμπειν
 καὶ χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν,
 ἐπὶ δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ψήφισμ' εἰσαγγελία παράλος
 ταῦτ' ἔστιν. ταῦτ' ἦν εὐφρονούντων ἀνθρώπων, ἢ
 ἐπηρεαζόντων δὲ καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ πράγμαθ',
 30 ἃ νῦν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς
 εἶναι τοιούτους, δεινὸν ὃν οὐ δεινὸν ἔστιν· ἀλλ'
 ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι οὕτως ἤδη διάκεισθε, ὥστ',
 ἂν μὲν τις εἴπῃ παρελθὼν ὅτι Διοπίθης ἐστὶ·
 τῶν κακῶν πάντων αἴτιος, ἢ Χάρης ἢ Ἀριστοφῶν

l. 211 Ἑλλήνων; Bl, 'sine interrogatione ironia est acrior'
 Voemel (Weil, Th).

§ 28 l. 213 εἰσπέμπειν S L¹, Vind l (cp. 9 § 18): ἐκπέμπειν
 vulgo (cp. l. 222). || 216 κωλύσαι mss (Weil, Th): ἐπισχεῖν
 Elym Magnum a.v. πινάκιον, omitting πάντα. || 217 νόμοι, ταῦτα
 (Weil, Th): νόμοι ταῦτα, (Voemel, Bl). || 218 οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐ B F O
 (Bl, cp. § 19): οὐ μὰ Δία ~ ~ ~ S etc (Weil, Th).

§ 29 l. 225 ταῦτ' ἔστιν (= ταῦτό δύναται) Bl: ταῦτ' ἔστιν S L
 (Weil, Th); + ἰκανά vulgo. || ταῦτ' ἔστιν ταῦτ' ἦν S (Voemel). ||
 ἀνθρώπων om Bl as in l. 347.

§ 30 l. 231 τῶν κακῶν πάντων S L Vind l (Weil, Th); πάντων
 τῶν κακῶν vulgo; τῶν κακῶν Bl, cp. Libanius iv 360, and
 Hermog ix 44 Κεφαλὸς ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος ἢ Ἀριστοφῶν
 § 29 ἂν τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα (6 § 34) φαίη τις.

ἡ ὃν ἂν τῶν πολιτῶν εἶπη τις, εὐθέως φατέ καὶ
 θορυβεῖθ' ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγει· ἂν δὲ παρελθὼν λέγῃ **31**
 τις τάληθῇ, ὅτι "ληρεῖτ', Ἀθηναῖοι· πάντων
³⁵ τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων Φίλιππος
 ἐστ' αἷτιος· εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἤγεν ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν
 ἂν ἦν πρᾶγμα τῇ πόλει," ὥς μὲν οὐκ ἀληθῇ
 ταῦτ' ἐστὶν οὐχ ἔξετ' ἀντιλέγειν, ἄχθεσθαι δ'
 <ἂν> μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπολλύναι τι νομί-
⁴⁰ ζειν. αἷτιον δὲ τούτων (καὶ μοι πρὸς θεῶν, ὅταν **32**
 εἵνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω, ἔστω παρρησία)·
 παρσκευάσιν ὑμᾶς τῶν πολιτευομένων ἔνιοι
 ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φοβερὸς καὶ χαλεπός,
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου ῥαθύ-
⁴⁵ μους καὶ εὐκαταφρονήτους. ἂν μὲν οὖν τὸν αἷτιον
 εἶπη τις, ὃν ἴσθ' ὅτι λήψεσθε παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς,
 φατέ καὶ βούλεσθε· ἂν δὲ τοιοῦτον λέγῃ τις,
 ὃν κρατήσαντας τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἄλλως δ' οὐκ **p. 98**
 ἔστιν κολάσαι, οὐκ ἔχετ' οἶμαι τί ποιήσετε,
⁵⁰ ἐξελεγχόμενοι δ' ἄχθεσθε. ἐχρῆν γὰρ ὧ ἄνδρες **33**
 Ἀθηναῖοι τὸνναντίον ἢ νῦν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολι-
 τευομένους ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πρᾶους καὶ
 φιλανθρώπους ὑμᾶς ἐθίζειν εἶναι (πρὸς γὰρ ὑμᾶς
 αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐν ταύταις ἐστὶν τὰ
⁵⁵ δίκαια), ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου
 φοβερὸς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἐπιδεικνύναι· πρὸς γὰρ

l. 232 εἶπη S L A Y (Weil, Th): εἶποι Aug 2 (Bl).

§ 31 l. 236 ἐστ' S: ἐστιν vulgo, making an iambic dimeter. ||
 238 οὐχ ἔξετ' S (Weil, Bl): οὐκ ἔχετ' vulgo (Th). || 239 <ἂν>
 inserted by Bl (Th).

§ 32 l. 241 εἵνεκα Weil, Bl: ἐνεκα MSS (Th). || 242 ὑμᾶς
 S L: ἐκ πολλοῦ ὑμᾶς Vind l; ὑμᾶς ἐκ πολλοῦ vulgo.

§ 33 l. 256 ἐπιδεικνύναι MSS: ἀποδεικνύναι H Wolf.

τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐκείναις ἐσθ'
 34 ὡγών. | νῦν δὲ δημαγωγοῦντες ὑμᾶς καὶ χαριζό-
 μενοι καθ' ὑπερβολήν, οὕτω διατεθήκασιν, ὥστ'
 ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι ⁂
 πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούοντας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγ-
 μασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη
 κινδυνεύειν. | φέρε γὰρ πρὸς Διός, εἰ λόγον ὑμᾶς
 ἀπαιτήσειαν οἱ "Ἕλληνες ὧν νυνὶ παρείκατε
 35 καιρῶν διὰ ῥαθυμίαν, καὶ ἔροινθ' ὑμᾶς, "ἄνδρες ⁂
 'Αθηναῖοι, πέμπεθ' ὥς ἡμᾶς ἐκάστοτε πρέσβεις,
 καὶ λέγεθ' ὥς ἐπιβουλεύει Φίλιππος ἡμῖν καὶ
 πᾶσι τοῖς "Ἕλλησι, καὶ ὥς φυλάττεσθαι δεῖ
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαυτά," ἀνάγκη
 φάσκειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν· ποιοῦμεν γὰρ ταῦτα. ⁂
 "εἴτ', ὦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων φαυλότατοι, δέκα
 μῆνας ἀπογενομένου τ' ἀνθρώπου καὶ νόσφ' καὶ
 χειμῶνι καὶ πολέμοις ἀποληφθέντος, ὥστε μὴ
 36 ἂν δύνασθαι ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε, οὔτε τὴν Εὐβοίαν
 ἡλευθερώσατε, οὔτε τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ⁂
 ἐκομίσασθε; ἀλλ' ἐκείνος μὲν, ὑμῶν οἴκοι μενόν-
 των, σχολὴν ἀγόντων, ὑγιαίνοντων (εἰ δὲ τοὺς
 99 τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας ὑγιαίνειν φήσαιεν), δὴ ἐν
 Εὐβοίᾳ κατέστησε τυράννους, τὸν μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ

1. 257 ἐκείναις Bl, Th: ἐν ἐκείναις vulgo ('absonum' Voemel); ἐκείνος S L (Voemel, Weil).

§ 34 l. 259 διατεθήκασιν Meisterhans *Att. Inschr.* p. 152² (Th): διατεθείκασιν mss (Weil, Bl); op. 3 § 12. || 264 παρείκατε Y A¹: παρήκατε S L etc.

§ 35 l. 272 [ἀπογενομένου] ~ ~ ~ Bl. || 273 ἀποληφθέντος ('interclusi') corr S: ἀπολειφθέντος ('relicti') S¹ L Vind 1. || 273 f μηδ' ἂν δύνασθαι? Voemel.

§ 36 ll. 277 f δὴ . . φήσαιεν S L¹ alone (Weil, Th); δαί . . φῆσαι vulgo; δαί . . φήσαιμεν Aristides ix 360; δὴ . . φήσαιμεν Y

280 τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιτειχίσας, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ Σκίαθον,
 ὑμεῖς δ' οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἀπελύσασθε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλ' 37
 ἐβούλεσθε, ἀλλ' εἰάκατε; ἀφέστατε δῆλον ὅτι
 αὐτῷ, καὶ φανερόν πεποιήκατε, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν
 δεκάκις ἀποθάνῃ, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον κινήσεσθε. τι
 285 οὖν πρεσβεύετε καὶ κατηγορεῖτε καὶ πράγμαθ'
 ἡμῖν παρέχετε;" ἂν ταῦτα λέγωσι, τί ἐροῦμεν
 ἢ τί φήσομεν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
 οὐχ ὁρῶ.

Εἰσι τοίνυν τινές, οἱ τότε ἐξελέγγειν τὸν 38
 290 παριόντ' οἴονται, ἐπειδὰν ἐρωτήσωσι "τί οὖν
 χρῆ ποιεῖν;" οἷς ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ δικαιοτάτον καὶ
 ἀληθέστατον τοῦτ' ἀποκρινούμαι, ταῦτα μὴ
 ποιεῖν ἂ νυνὶ ποιεῖτε, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ'
 ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἐρῶ. καὶ ὅπως, ὥσπερ ἐρωτῶσι
 295 προθύμως, οὕτω καὶ ποιεῖν ἐθελήσουσιν. πρῶτον 39
 μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς
 βεβαίως γινῶναι, ὅτι τῇ πόλει Φίλιππος πολεμεῖ
 καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην λέλυκεν (καὶ παύσασθε περὶ
 τούτου κατηγοροῦντες ἀλλήλων) καὶ κακόνους
 300 μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὅλη τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ
 τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν 40
 τῇ πόλει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τοῖς μάλιστα

§ 37 l. 282 εἰάκατε. Weil. || ἀφέστατε S¹ L alone; καὶ ἀφ.
 vulgo. [εἰάκατε καὶ] ἀφ. Cobet. || 285 πρεσβεύετε S L¹ O Vind l
 (Voemel, Weil, Th): πρεσβεύεσθε vulgo (Bl), cp. Libanius
 iii 410, 21. || 287 [ἢ τί φήσομεν] Cobet.

§ 38 l. 290 ἐρωτήσωσι vulgo: ἐρωτήσῃ S L¹ (sc. 'aliquis
 eorum' Voemel). || 291 μὲν τὸ MSS: τὸ μὲν Bl. || 298 νυνὶ
 most MSS (Weil, Th): νῦν A B, Isidor ii 185 (Bl).

§ 39 l. 298 παύσασθε περὶ: to avoid ~ ~ ~ Bl would prefer
 either παύσασθ' ὑπὲρ, or παύσασθαι (with A¹ and Dobree)
 followed by κατηγοροῦντας (Cobet).

οιομένοις αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι (εἰ δὲ μή, σκεψάσθων
 Εὐθυκράτη καὶ Λασθένη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους, οἱ
 δοκοῦντες οἰκειότατ' αὐτῷ διακεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τὴν
 πόλιν προὔδοσαν, πάντων κίκιστ' ἀπολώλασιν),
 οὐδενὶ μέντοι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμεῖ,
 οὐδ' ἐπιβουλεύει καὶ σκοπεῖ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ ἐν
 41 τῶν πάντων, ἢ πῶς ταύτην καταλύσει. καὶ
 τοῦτ' εἰκότως τρόπον τινὰ πρᾶττει· οἶδεν γὰρ
 ἀκριβῶς ὅτι, οὐδ' ἂν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων γένηται
 p. 100 κύριος, οὐδὲν ἔστ' αὐτῷ βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν
 ὑμεῖς δημοκρατήσθε, ἀλλ' ἂν ποτε συμβῇ τι
 πταῖσμα (ἃ πολλὰ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀνθρώπων), ἥξει
 πάντα τὰ νῦν συμβεβιασμένα καὶ καταφεύξεται
 42 πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐστὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ αὐτοὶ πλεονεκ-
 τήσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν ἀρχὴν εὖ πεφυκότες,
 ἀλλ' ἕτερον λαβεῖν κωλύσαι καὶ ἔχοντ' ἀφελέ-
 σθαι δεινοί, καὶ ὅλως ἐνοχλήσαι τοῖς ἄρχειν
 βουλομένοις καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἐλευθε-
 3 ρίαν ἐξελέσθαι ἔτοιμοι. οὐκοῦν βούλεται τοῖς
 ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἐφ-
 εδρεύειν, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, οὐ κακῶς οὐδ' ἀργῶς

§ 40 l. 303 σκεψάσθων Cobet (Bl): σκεψάσθωσαν (Voemel, Weil, Th), σκέψασθ' ὡς ἂν L, σκέψασθ' ὡς ἂν S. || 304 Εὐθυκράτην — Λασθένην Δ O (Dind). || 307 πολεμεῖ, Δ (Bl, Th). || 308 ἐπιβουλεύει, S (Weil).

§ 41 l. 312 ἔστ' S L alone, cp [10] § 13: ἔσται vulgo. || 314 ἃ πολλὰ — ἀνθρώπων mss (Weil, Th, Bl²): πολλὰ δ' ἂν γένοιτ' ἀνθρώπων vulgo in [10] § 13 (Cobet, Bl¹). || 315 νῦν συμβεβ. mss (Weil, Th): νῦν βεβ. Δ Υ O and [10] § 13; [νῦν] συμβεβ. Bl.

§ 42 l. 319 [δεινοί] Bl; om [10] § 14; substituted for ἔτοιμοι (l. 321) by Benseler. || 321 ἐξελέσθαι [10] § 14 and Aristideia i 730 (Benseler, Weil, Bl): ἀφελέσθαι S L¹ Δ O (Th); ἐξαφελέσθαι vulgo. || [ἔτοιμοι] Bl.

ταῦτα λογιζόμενος. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο δεῖ 43
 325 ἐχθρὸν ὑπειληφέναι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς
 δημοκρατίας ἀδιάλλακτον ἐκείνον· εἰ γὰρ μὴ
 τοῦτο πεισθήσεσθε ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οὐκ ἐβελήσεθ'
 ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων σπουδάζειν· δευτέρον δ'
 εἰδέναι σαφῶς, ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα πραγματεύεται καὶ
 330 κατασκευάζεται νῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν
 παρασκευάζεται, καὶ ὅπου τις ἐκείνον ἀμύνεται,
 ἐνταῦθ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀμύνεται. οὐ γὰρ οὕτω 44
 γ' εὐήθης ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς, δς ὑπολαμβάνει τὸν
 Φίλιππον, τῶν μὲν ἐν Θράκῃ κακῶν (τί γὰρ ἂν
 335 ἄλλο τις εἴποι Δρογγίλον καὶ Καβύλην καὶ Μά-
 στειραν καὶ ἃ νῦν ἐξαιρεῖ [καὶ κατασκευάζεται];)

§ 43 l. 324 δὴ: ἂν S (ΔΗ and AN resembling one another in the original uncial ms); cp. 6 § 23 n c. || 325 πολιτείας mss here and in [10] § 15: πόλεως? Weil, as in l. 300. || [καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας] Cobet, Dind. || 332 ἡμῶν vulgo (Weil, Bl): ὑμῶν S O Y (Voemel, Th). || ἀμύνεται S L, corr Y (Voemel, Weil, Th): ἀμυνεῖται vulgo and Schol (Bl).

§ 44 l. 333 ἐστὶν οἱ Bl, cp. Aristeides i 734 οὐ γὰρ οὕτω γ' ἀναίσθητος οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἔξω τοῦ φρονεῖν, ὅστις κτλ. || δε ὑπολαμβάνει S L ~ ~ ~ (Voemel, Weil, Th), cp. Aristeides l.c.: ὥσθ' ὑπολαμβάνειν vulgo and [10] § 15. || 334 κακῶν mss here and in [10] § 16, also Harpocration and Photius s.v. Μάστειρα: the word is accepted by all editors, but is probably corrupt: what we want is some depreciatory term which would be appropriate to the unimportant places about to be mentioned, e.g. κωμῶν, καλυβῶν, καλιῶν (Hesiod's word for 'huts,' and esp. for 'barns,' or 'granaries' cp. l. 344), but α (336) and ταῦτα (337) point to some neuter noun, such as καλιδίων, καλυβίων, κωμιδίων, πολυχρίων.

ll. 334 f τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις εἴποι ~ ~ ~ Weil, cp. 23 § 63 and vulgo 36 § 48; τί γὰρ ἄλλο τις ἂν εἴποι ~ ~ ~ Th; τί γὰρ ἄλλο τις εἴπη Bl, cp. 19 § 88, 21 § 197, and Bl 36 § 48. || τί vulgo and [10] § 16, and Harpocr l.c.: οὐ S L' alone (Voemel). || ἂν ἄλλο τις Δ Y and Harpocr; ἄλλο τις ἂν S and vulgo, here and in [10] § 16; ἄλλο τις Photius. || 335 εἴποι S and most mss here and in [10] § 16: εἴπη (with ἂν) in Aug 2, Aug 3, Vind 4.

l. 336 [καὶ κατασκευάζεται] Weil, Bl, Th, repeated from ll. 329 f.

τούτων μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῦτα
λαβεῖν καὶ πόνους καὶ χειμῶνας καὶ τοὺς
45 ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων
λιμένων καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τριήρων καὶ τῶν ἔργων,³⁴
τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ τοσούτων προσόδων οὐκ
ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐάσειν ἔχειν,
ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μελιῶν καὶ τῶν ὀλυρῶν τῶν ἐν
p. 101 τοῖς Θρακίοις σιροῖς ἐν τῷ βαράθρῳ χειμάζειν.
οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κακείν' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τούτων³⁴
γενέσθαι κύριος καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα πραγματεύεται.
46 τί οὖν εὐ φρονούντων ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν; εἰδότας
ταῦτα καὶ ἐγνωκότας, τὴν μὲν υπερβάλλουσιν
καὶ ἀνείκαστον ταύτην ῥαθυμίαν ἀποθέσθαι,
χρήματα δ' εἰσφέρειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους³⁵
ἀξιούν, καὶ ὅπως τὸ συνεστηκὸς τοῦτο συμμενεῖ
στράτευμ' ὁρᾶν καὶ πράττειν, ἵν', ὥσπερ ἐκείνος
ἔτοιμον ἔχει δύναμιν τὴν ἀδικήσουσαν καὶ κατα-
δουλωσομένην ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω τὴν
σώσουσαν ὑμεῖς καὶ βοηθήσουσαν ἅπασιν ἔτοιμον³⁵
47 ἔχητε. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι βοηθείαις χρωμένους οὐδέποτ'

l. 337 [τούτων μὲν] ! Bl ∪ ∪ ∪.

§ 45 l. 339 Ἀθηναίων S L alone; Ἀθήνησι vulgo. || 342 ὑμᾶς ἐάσειν Δ Υ (Bl, Th); ∪ ∪ ἐάσειν ὑμᾶς vulgo (Voemel, Weil); ∪ ∪ ἐάσειν ἡμᾶς S L (Dind). || 344 σιροῖς, form supported by Varro R R i 57, 2, Hesychius, etc: σείροις S¹ with ε written by later hand above εἰ, σιρροῖς L. || 347 ἀνθρώπων om Bl as in l. 225.

§ 46 l. 349 ἀνείκαστον S L¹ only: ἀνέκεστον vulgo, [] Cobet. The former appears in Dionysius *Ant Rom* ii 89, 16 δεινὴν καὶ ἀνείκαστον ὑπομείνασα ὕβριν, the latter in Isidor v 51 ἥν γὰρ τὴν υπερβ. καὶ ἀνέκεστον ῥαθ. ἀπώθωνται (sic); both omit ταύτην, hence Bl brackets it. || 351 συμμενεῖ Urb: συμμένοι S L, συμμένει or -η v.l. || 353 ἔχη S¹.

§ 47 l. 356 ἔστι vulgo: ἐνεστι L and cotti B.

οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράξαι, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάσαντας
 δεῖ δύναμιν, καὶ τροφήν ταύτην πορίσαντας καὶ
 ταμίας καὶ δημοσίους, καὶ, ὅπως ἐνὶ τῇ τῶν
 360 χρημάτων φυλακῇ ἀκριβεστάτην γενέσθαι, οὕτω
 ποιήσαντας, τὸν μὲν τῶν χρημάτων λόγον παρὰ
 τούτων λαμβάνειν, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοῦ
 στρατηγοῦ. κἂν οὕτω ποιήσητε καὶ ταῦτ'
 ἐθελήσηθ' ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἄγειν εἰρήνην δικαίαν καὶ
 365 μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον ἀναγκάσετε, ἢ
 μείζον οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν, ἢ πολεμήσεται
 ἴσου.

Εἰ δέ τῃ δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ δαπάνης μεγάλης 48
 καὶ πόνων πολλῶν καὶ πραγματείας εἶναι, καὶ
 370 μάλ' ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν λογίσηται τὰ τῇ
 πόλει μετὰ ταῦτα γενησόμενα, ἂν ταῦτα μὴ
 θέλῃ, εὐρήσει λυσιτελοῦν τὸ ἐκόντας ποιεῖν τὰ

1. 357 δεόντων ποτέ (or πώποτε) [10] § 22. || 363 κἂν: ἂν
 A O in [10] § 23, but cp. 2 § 13 κἂν ταῦτ' ἐθελήσητε. ||
 ταῦτ(α) vulgo (Weil, Th): τότ(ε) S L¹ (Bl). Bl, to avoid
 ~ ~ ~ in τότ' ἐθελήσητε, prints τόθ' ἔλησθ' (ἐλησθε being a
 v.l. recorded by Y in [10] § 47), and ascribes the ordinary
 reading to a corruption of τοθελησθωσ; but the text is
 defended by 2 § 13 and by l. 371 ἂν ταῦτα μὴ θέλῃ. || 364
 καὶ vulgo and [10] § 23 (Weil, Th): om S L¹ (Voemel,
 Bl)

§ 48 l. 369 μεγάλης most mss (Weil, Th): πολλῆς B F and
 [10] § 24, also (omitting καὶ πόνων πολλῶν) Aristoteles ix 383
 (Bl). || 369 [πολλῶν] Bl. Cp. Libanius iv 491 πόνων πολλῶν ἂν
 χρῆζοι καὶ πραγματείας, and 904 τὸ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς δεήσειν πόνων
 καὶ πραγμ., also Dionysius Compt 188 εἰ δέ τινι δοκεῖ καὶ πόνου
 πολλοῦ καὶ πραγματείας μεγάλης ἀξία εἶναι (and de Dem c. 52
 with τω for τινι, and ἔργα for ἀξια). || 370 λογίσηται recognised
 by rhetoricians and by most mss here and all in [10] § 24
 (Weil, Bl): λογίσηται S L¹ A (Th). || 372 θέλῃ S L¹: + ποιεῖν
 vulgo and [10] § 24.

- 49 δέοντα. εἰ μὲν γάρ ἐστὶ τις ἐγγυητὴς θεῶν (οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γ' οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτ' ἀξιοχρεως τηλικούτου πρῶγματος) ὥς, ἂν ἀγηθ' ἡσυχίαν³· καὶ ἅπαντα προῆσθε, οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς
- p. 102 τελευτῶν ἐκείνος ἤξει, αἰσχροὺς μὲν νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς καὶ ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καὶ πεπραγμένων τοῖς προγόνους, τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκα ῥαθυμίας τοὺς ἄλλους³· πάντας Ἑλληνας εἰς δουλείαν προέσθαι, καὶ ἔγωγ' αὐτὸς μὲν τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ ταύτ' εἰρηκέναι βουλοίμην· οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἴ τις ἄλλος λέγει καὶ ὑμᾶς πείθει, ἔστω, μὴ ἀμύνεσθ',
- 50 ἅπαντα πρόεσθε. εἰ δὲ μηδενὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖ,³ τούναντίον δὲ προΐσμεν ἅπαντες ὅτι, ὅσῳ ἂν πλειόνων ἐάσωμεν ἐκείνον γενέσθαι κύριον, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ καὶ ἰσχυροτέρῳ χρησόμεθ' ἐχθρῷ, ποῖ ἀναδυόμεθ'· ἢ τί μέλλομεν; ἢ πότ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν³
- 51 ἐβελήσομεν; ὅταν νῆ Δί' ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ. ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν ἂν τις ἐλευθέρων ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκην εἴποι, οὐ μόνον ἤδη πάρεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλαι

§ 49 l. 373 ἐγγυητὴς S L¹: + ἡμῖν (vulgo) or ὑμῖν. || θεῶν (οὐ γὰρ κτλ) Weil; — θεῶν, οὐ γὰρ κτλ Bl; (θεῶν· οὐ γὰρ κτλ) Th. || 380 ἔνεκα ῥαθυμίας mss (Weil, Th): ῥαθυμίας ἔνεκα [10] § 25; ῥαθυμίας [ἔνεκα] gen. of price as in § 70 (Bl). || 382 [ἔγωγ' αὐτὸς μὲν] Bl, cp. Aristides ix 357 καίτοι τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ταύτ' εἰρηκέναι βούλομαι.

§ 50 l. 385 μηδενὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖ vulgo (Weil, Th); μηδενὶ μὲν τοῦτο δοκεῖ O Y; μηδενὶ τοῦτο μήτε δόκη S (δοκεῖ L, Voemel), μηδενὶ μήτε τοῦτο δοκεῖ Bl² (μήτε τοῦτο δοκεῖ Bl¹). || 386 δὲ S and vulgo (Weil, Th): τε B¹ F¹ (Voemel, Bl).

§ 51 l. 391 ἀναγκαῖον only S and L¹ here, and S in [10] § 26; ἀνάγκη τις vulgo (cf. 4 § 10).

παρελήλυθε, τὴν δὲ τῶν δούλων ἀπεύχεσθαι
 395 δῆπου μὴ γενέσθαι δεῖ. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι
 ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ μεγίστη ἀνάγκη
 ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν γιγνομένων αἰσχύνη, καὶ μείζω
 ταύτης οὐκ οἶδ' ἦντιν' ἂν εἴποιμεν· δούλῳ
 δὲ πληγαὶ χῶ τοῦ σώματος αἰκισμός, ἃ μῆτε
 400 γένοιτ' οὔτε λέγειν ἄξιον.

Πάντα τοίνυν τᾶλλ' εἰπὼν ἂν ἡδέως, καὶ 52
 δείξας ὃν τρόπον ὑμᾶς ἔνιοι καταπολιτεύονται,
 τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' εἴσω, ἄλλ' ἐπειδάν τι τῶν πρὸς
 Φίλιππον ἐμπέσῃ, εὐθὺς ἀναστὰς τις λέγει τὸ
 405 τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ὡς ἀγαθόν, καὶ τὸ τρέφειν
 δύναμιν μεγάλην ὡς χαλεπόν, καὶ "διαρπάζειν
 τινὲς τὰ χρήματα βούλονται," καὶ τοιοῦτους
 λόγους, ἐξ ὧν ἀναβάλλουσι μὲν ὑμᾶς, ἡσυχίαν
 δὲ ποιοῦσιν ἐκείνῳ πράττειν ὅ τι βούλεται. ἐκ 53
 410 δὲ τούτων περιγίγνεται, ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ σχολὴ καὶ p. 103
 τὸ μηδὲν ἤδη ποιεῖν, ἃ δέδοιχ' ὅπως μήποθ'
 ἡγήσῃσθ' ἐπὶ πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι, τούτοις δ' αἱ
 χάριτες καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ὁ τούτων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι
 τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν οὐχ ὑμᾶς δεῖν πείθειν, οἱ
 415 πεπεισμένοι κάθησθε, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου
 πράττοντα· ἂν γὰρ ἐκείνος πεισθῇ, τά γ' ἀφ'
 ὑμῶν ὑπάρχει· νομίζειν δ' εἶναι χαλεπά, οὐχ ὅσ' 54

l. 394 παρελήλυθε 'mendosum' Cobet. || 395 δῆπου μὴ γενέσθαι
 accidentally omitted in S L¹ only, but retained in [10] § 26.
 || 396 [ἀνθρώπῳ μεγίστη] Bl. || 397 [ἢ om L] περὶ Bl², to avoid
 hiatus. || γιγνομένων S L: πραγμάτων or γιγνομένων pr. vulgo
 (cp. 4 § 10).

§ 53 l. 411 ἡδη vulgo: εἶναι S L¹ (Voemel). || 412 ἡγήσῃσθε
 nearly all mss (Voemel, Bl, Th): ἡγήσεσθε O (Bekker, Dind,
 Weil); cp. § 75. || 414 ἄγειν om Aristides ix 355 (Bl).

- ἂν εἰς σωτηρίαν δαπανῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἂ πεισόμεθα,
 ἂν ταῦτα μὴ θέλωμεν ποιεῖν· καὶ τὸ "διαρπα-
 σθήσεται τὰ χρήματα" τῷ φυλακῇ εἰπεῖν, δι' ἧς
 σωθήσεται, κωλύειν, οὐχὶ τῷ τοῦ συμφέροντος
 55 ἀφεστάναι. καίτοι ἔγωγ' ἀγανακτῶ καὶ αὐτὸ
 τοῦτ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὰ μὲν χρήματα
 λυπεῖ τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰ διαρπασθήσεται, ἂ καὶ
 φυλάττειν καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἐφ' ὑμῖν
 ἐστι, τὴν δ' Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν οὕτωςι Φίλιππος
 ἐφεξῆς ἀρπάζων, οὐ λυπεῖ, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς
 ἀρπάζων.
 56 Τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 τὸ τὸν μὲν οὕτω φανερώς στρατεύοντα, ἀδικούντα,
 πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντα, μηδένα τούτων πώποτ'
 εἰπεῖν ὡς πόλεμον ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἵπνιτρέπειν
 μηδὲ προτεσθαι ταῦτα συμβουλευόντας, τούτους
 57 τὸν πόλεμον ποιήσιν αἰτιᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ διδάξω· ὅτι
 τὴν ὀργὴν, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐστι γενέσθαι παρ' ὑμῶν, ἂν
 τι λυπήσθε τῷ πολέμῳ, εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
 λέγοντας τὰ βέλτιστα τρέψαι βούλονται, ἵνα

§ 54 l. 419 διαρπασθήσεται B A Y O¹, corr S here, and A S¹
 in [10] § 56 (Dind, Bl, Th): διαρπασθήσεσθαι S¹ here, and vulgo
 (Voemel, Weil). || 420 εἰπεῖν mss: εὔρειν [10] § 56 (Herwerden).
 || ἧς vulgo here and S in [10] § 56 (Weil, Bl): ἡν S L (Voemel,
 Th).

§ 55 l. 422 αὐτὸ mss (Weil, Th): om Schol here and S in [10]
 § 57 (Bl). || 423 ὧ—Ἀθηναῖοι om mss in [10] § 57 (Bl). || 427
 ἐφεξῆς after Φ. in S L; after πᾶσαν vulgo here and [10] § 57.

§ 56 l. 429 ἐστὶ mss (Weil, Th): om A in [10] § 57 (Bl). ||
 430 τὸ good mss: τοῦ vulgo. || στρατεύοντα om in [10] § 57
 (Dobree, Cobet, Bl). || 431 [πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντα] Cobet.

§ 57 l. 435 ὑμῶν vulgo (Weil, Bl): ὑμῖν S L only (Voemel,
 Th 'the dat is more correct, so long as the anger has not found
 an object'). See 9 § 3.

τούτους κρίνῃτε, μὴ Φίλιππον ἀμύνησθε, καὶ
κατηγορῶσιν αὐτοί, μὴ δίκην δῶσιν ὧν ποιουσί
140 νῦν. τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς δύνатаι τὸ λέγειν ὡς ἄρα
βούλονται πόλεμόν τινες ποιῆσαι παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ
περὶ τούτου ἡ διαδικασία αὕτη ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' 58
οἶδ' ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐ γράψαντος Ἀθηναίων οὐδενός p. 104
πῶ πόλεμον, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ Φίλιππος ἔχει
145 τῶν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ νῦν εἰς Καρδίαν πέπομφε
βοήθειαν. εἰ μέντοι βουλόμεθ' ἡμεῖς μὴ προσ-
ποιεῖσθαι πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν, ἀνοητότατος
πάντων ἂν εἴη τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τοῦτ'
ἐξελέγχοι. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἔη, 59
150 τί φήσομεν; ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ὥσπερ
οὐδ' Ὀρείταις, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ,
οὐδὲ Φεραίους πρότερον, πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσβάλ-
λων αὐτῶν, οὐδ' Ὀλυνθίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἕως ἐν αὐτῇ
τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ στράτευμα παρῆν ἔχων. ἥ καὶ τότε
155 τοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι κελεύοντας πόλεμον ποιεῖν φή-
σομεν; οὐκοῦν ὑπόλοιπον δουλεύειν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο
γ' οὐδέν ἐστι μεταξὺ τοῦ μήτ' ἀμύνεσθαι μήτ'
ἀγειν ἡσυχίαν ἔασθαι. καὶ μὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν 60
ἴσων ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσθ' ὁ κίνδυνος· οὐ

ll. 441 f [καὶ περὶ—ἐστίν] Benseler de hiatus Dem 6. || 442
τούτου S L A (Weil, Th): τούτων vulgo (Bl). || [αὕτη ἐστίν] Bl.

§ 58 l. 443 ἀκριβῶς om Bl; in [10] § 60 οἶδα ἀκριβῶς S F
Y O; εἰ οἶδα A; εἰ οἶδα ἀκριβῶς vulgo. || 444 πῶ S L¹ (Weil,
Th): om vulgo (Bl). || καὶ ἄλλα mss (Weil, Th): om S F Y
in [10] § 60 (Bl).

§ 59 l. 451 τῶν mss: om S in [10] § 61 (Bl). || 453 αὐτῶν
om S Y O F in [10] § 61 (Bl).

§ 60 l. 459 ὑμῖν B F (Bl, Th); ἡμῖν S L: ὑμῖν τε vulgo
here, and A in [10] § 62 (Weil).

γὰρ ὑφ' αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι βούλεται ἢ
Φίλιππος, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀνελεῖν. οἶδεν γὰρ ἀκρι-
βῶς ὅτι δουλεύειν μὲν ὑμεῖς οὐτ' ἐθέλησετε,
οὐτ' ἂν ἐθέλησητ' ἐπιστήσεσθε (ἄρχειν γὰρ
εἰώθατε), πράγματα δ' αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ἂν
καιρὸν λάβητε, πλείω τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἢ
ἀπάντων δυνήσεσθε.

- 61 Ὡς οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων ὄντος τοῦ ἡγῶνος,
οὕτω προσήκει γιγνώσκειν, καὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας
αὐτοὺς ἐκείνῳ μισεῖν ἀποτυμπανίσαι· οὐ γὰρ
ἔστιν οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν ἢ
κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει
62 κολάσῃτ' ἐχθροὺς. πόθεν οἴεσθε νῦν αὐτὸν
p. 106 ὑβρίζειν ὑμᾶς (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ἔμουγε δοκεῖ
ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο) καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰ ποιοῦντ',
εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλ', ἐξαπατᾶν, ὑμῖν δ' ἀπειλεῖν ἢ
ἤδη; οἷον Θετταλοὺς πολλὰ δούς ὑπηγάγετ' εἰς
τὴν νῦν παρούσαν δουλείαν· οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν
δύναιτ' οὐδεὶς ὅσα τοὺς τालαιπῶρους Ὀλυνηθίους
πρότερον δούς Ποτειδαίαν ἐξηπάτησε καὶ πόλλ'
63 ἕτερα· Θηβαίους νῦν ὑπάγει τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτοῖς ἢ
παραδοὺς καὶ ἀπαλλάξας πολέμου πολλοῦ καὶ
χαλεποῦ· ὥστε καρπωσάμενοί τιν' ἕκαστοι

§ 61 l. 468 οὕτω προσήκει A Y and [10] § 63 : προσῆκεν οὕτω
S L (Voemel); προσήκει οὕτω v.l. (Dind); οὕτω ? om Bl. || 472
ἐχθροὺς S¹ L : om Rosenberg; + ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκείνῳ (9 § 63),
ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τούτοις ὥσπερ προβόλοις προσπαύσαντας ὑστερίζειν
ἐκείνων ([10] § 63) vulgo.

§ 62 l. 472 πόθεν S L only; + γὰρ vulgo : ἐπεὶ πόθεν vulgo
in [10] § 64 preferred by Bl. || 476 ἐπηγάγετο S L¹ only. || 479
[Ποτειδαίαν] and [πόλλ' ἕτερα] Wecklein.

§ 63 l. 480 νῦν S L¹ : τὰ νῦν [10] § 65 (Bl.). || [αὐτοῖς] ? Bl.

τούτων πλεονεξίαν, οἱ μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθασιν, ἃ
 δὴ πάντες ἴσασιν, οἱ δ' ὅταν ποτὲ συμβῇ
 485 πείσονται. ὑμεῖς δ' ὧν μὲν ἀπεστέρησθε,
 σιωπῶ· ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσα-
 σθαι, πόσ' ἐξηπάτησθε, πόσων ἀπεστέρησθε.
 οὐχὶ Φωκέας, οὐ Πύλας, οὐχὶ τὰπὶ Θράκης, 64
 Δορίσκον, Σέρριον, τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην αὐτόν;
 490 οὐ νῦν τὴν πόλιν τὴν Καρδιανῶν ἔχει καὶ
 ὁμολογεῖ; τί ποτ' οὖν ἐκείνως τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ
 οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν προσφέρεται; ὅτι ἐν
 μόνῃ τῶν πασῶν πόλεων τῇ ὑμετέρα ἄδει ὑπὲρ
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν λέγειν δέδοται, καὶ λαβόντα χρήματ'
 495 αὐτὸν ἀσφαλὲς ἐστὶ λέγειν παρ' ὑμῖν, καὶ
 ἀφηρημένοι τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἦτε. οὐκ ἦν 65
 ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τὰ Φιλίππου, μὴ
 σὺν εὐ πεπονθότων τῶν πολλῶν Ὀλυνθίων τῷ
 Ποτεΐδαιαν καρποῦσθαι· οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν
 500 ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τὰ Φιλίππου, μὴ σὺν εὐ πεπονθότος
 τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Θετταλῶν τῷ τοὺς τυράννους
 ἐκβαλεῖν Φιλίππου αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν
 ἀποδοῦναι· οὐκ ἦν ἐν Θήβαις ἀσφαλὲς, πρὶν

1. 484 πάντες ἴσασιν MSS: πεπόνθασιν S in [10] § 65 (Cobet, Bl¹). || ὅταν S L here (Weil, Bl): ὅ, τι ἂν vulgo here and S in [10] § 65, thus supplying an object to πείσονται (Th). || 485 ἀπεστέρησθε MSS: ἀποστερεῖσθε Bl. || 487 ἐξηπάτησθε . . ἀπεστέρησθε Th, the aorist expressing the process and the perfect the result.

§ 64 l. 490 [πόλιν τὴν] Bl, A in [10] § 66 having τὴν Καρδιανῶν for Καρδίαν; cp. § 66 and [7] §§ 42 f. || 491 f καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ! Weil; καὶ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑμῖν τρόπον ! Bl. || 494 [λέγειν] Herwerden (Bl²).

§ 65 l. 500 τὰ Φιλίππου om S A F Y in [10] § 67 (Bl). || 501 τοῦ Θ, B etc: τῶν Θ. S O A etc (Voemel). || 502 [Φιλίππου αἰτού] ! Bl.

- τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀνεῖλεν.
 66 ἀλλ' Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ μόνον Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν
 p. 106 Καρδιανῶν χώραν ἀπεστερηκότος Φιλίππου,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκευάζοντος ὑμῖν ἐπιτελιχισμα
 τὴν Εὐβοίαν καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον παριόντος,
 ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. καὶ γάρ
 τοι τούτων μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν ἔνιοι ταχὺ πλούσιοι,
 γίνονται, καὶ ἐξ ἀνωνύμων καὶ ἀδόξων ἔνδοξοι
 καὶ γνωρίμοι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τούναντίον, ἐκ μὲν ἐνδόξων
 ἄδοξοι, ἐκ δ' εὐπόρων ἄποροι· πόλεως γὰρ ἔγωγε
 πλούτον ἡγοῦμαι συμμάχους, πίστιν, εὐνοίαν, ὧν
 67 πάντων ἔσθ' ὑμεῖς ἄποροι. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τούτων
 ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν καὶ ἔαν ταῦτα φέρεσθαι, ὁ μὲν
 εὐδαίμων καὶ μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι
 καὶ βαρβάροις, ὑμεῖς δ' ἔρημοι καὶ ταπεινοί, τῇ
 τῶν ὠνίων ἀφθονίᾳ λαμπροί, τῇ δ' ὧν προσήκε
 παρασκευῇ καταγέλαστοι. οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ
 τρόπον περὶ θ' ὑμῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνίου
 τῶν λεγόντων ὁρῶ βουλευομένους· ὑμᾶς μὲν γὰρ
 ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν φασὶ δεῖν, καὶ τις ὑμᾶς ἀδικῇ,
 αὐτοὶ δ' οὐ δύνανται παρ' ὑμῖν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν
 οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδικούντος.
 68 Ἔτα φησὶν ὃς ἂν τύχῃ παρελθὼν "οὐ γὰρ
 ἐθέλεις γράφειν, οὐδὲ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ἄτολμος

§ 66 l. 509 ὑπὲρ vulgo: περὶ S¹ L¹ ◡ ◡ ◡ (Voemel). || 511
 γίνονται (γίν.) S L A and in [10] § 68 (Weil, Bl): γηγόνασαι
 vulgo (Th), cp. 3 § 29.

§ 67 l. 516 ἔχειν S L¹ A: + ὑμᾶς vulgo (Th). || ταῦτα in
 [10] § 68 om S A¹ or altered into τὰ πράγματα, [] Bl; ταῦτα
 Weil. || τούτων στέρεσθαι corr S.

§ 68 l. 527 ἐθέλεις MSS ◡ ◡ ◡: θέλει Bl.

εἰ καὶ μαλακός." ἐγὼ δὲ θρασὺς μὲν καὶ
 βδελυρὸς καὶ ἀναιδής οὐτ' εἰμὶ μήτε γενοίμην,
 530 ἀνδρείότερον μέντοι πολλῶν πάνυ τῶν ἰταμῶς
 πολιτευομένων παρ' ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἡγούμαι.
 ὅστις μὲν γὰρ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι παριδὼν 69
 ἂ συνοίσει τῇ πόλει, κρίνει δημεύει δίδωσιν
 κατηγορεῖ, οὐδεμῖα ταῦτ' ἀνδρεία ποιεῖ, ἀλλ'
 535 ἔχων ἐνέχυρον τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας τὸ πρὸς p. 107
 χάριν ὑμῖν λέγειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀσφαλῶς
 θρασὺς ἐστίν· ὅστις δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου
 πολλὰ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐναντιοῦται βουλῇμασι,
 καὶ μηδὲν λέγει πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλὰ τὸ βέλτιστον
 540 αἰεὶ, καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν προαιρεῖται, ἐν
 ἧ πλείονων ἡ τύχη κυρία γίνεται ἢ οἱ λογισμοί,
 τούτων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον ὑμῖν
 παρέχει, οὗτός ἐστ' ἀνδρείος, καὶ χρήσιμός γε 70
 πολίτης ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, οὐχ οἱ τῆς παρ' ἡμέραν
 545 χάριτος τὰ μέγιστα τῆς πόλεως ἀπολωλεκότες,
 οὓς ἐγὼ τοσούτου δέω ζηλοῦν ἢ νομίζειν ἀξίους
 πολίτας τῆς πόλεως εἶναι, ὥστ', εἴ τις ἔροιτό
 μ', "εἰπέ μοι, σὺ δὲ δὴ τί τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν
 πεποιήκας;"—ἔχων ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ
 550 τριηραρχίας εἰπεῖν καὶ χορηγίας καὶ χρημάτων
 εἰσφορὰς καὶ λύσεις αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τοιαύτας 71
 ἄλλας φιλανθρωπίας, οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποιμι,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων πολιτευμάτων οὐδὲν

§ 69 l. 533 δίδωσιν S (Th). || 534 [κατηγορεῖ] Dobree, placed
 before κρίνει by GH Schaef. || 535 [αὐτοῦ] Bl. || 538 βουλῇ-
 μασι S (Th).

§ 70 l. 543 γε vulgo (Bl, Th): om S L¹ (Weil). || 548 δὴ
 vulgo (Bl), Plut Mor 8 x σὺ δὲ δὴ: om S L (Weil, Tb).

- πολιτεύομαι, ἀλλὰ δυνάμενος ἂν ἴσως, ὥσπερ καὶ ἑτεροί, καὶ κατηγορεῖν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ δημεύ-⁵⁵
 εἰν καὶ τᾶλλ' ἃ ποιοῦσιν οὗτοι ποιεῖν, οὐδ' ἐφ'
 ἐν τούτων πώποτ' ἐμαυτὸν ἔταξα, οὐδὲ προήχθην
 οὐθ' ὑπὸ κέρδους οὐθ' ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλὰ
 διαμένω λέγων, ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν πολλῶν ἐλάττων
 εἰμὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὑμεῖς δ', εἰ πείθοισθέ μοι, μέζους⁵⁶
 ἂν εἴητε· οὕτω γὰρ ἴσως ἀνεπίφθονον εἰπεῖν.
- 72 οὐδ' ἔμουγε δοκεῖ δικαίον τοῦτ' εἶναι πολίτου,
 τοιαῦτα πολιτεύμαθ' εὐρίσκειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν
 πρῶτος ὑμῶν ἔσομαι εὐθέως, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
 ὑστατοί· ἀλλὰ συναυξάνεσθαι δεῖ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς⁵⁶
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν πολιτεύμασι, καὶ τὸ βέλτι-
 ον^{p 108} στον ἀεὶ, μὴ τὸ ῥῆστον ἅπαντας λέγειν· ἐπ'
 ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις αὐτῇ βαδιεῖται, ἐπὶ
 τοῦτο δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖ προάγεσθαι διδάσκοντα
 τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.⁵⁷
- 73 Ἡδη τοίνυν τινὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι
 λέγοντος, ὡς ἄρ' ἐγὼ λέγω μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ βέλτιστα,
 ἔστιν δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ λόγοι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ, δεῖ δ'
 ἔργων τῇ πόλει καὶ πράξεώς τινος. ἐγὼ δ' ὡς

§ 71 l. 554 ἀλλὰ δυνάμενος ἂν ἴσως: the seven short syllables might have been avoided by writing ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἑτεροί, δυνάμενος καὶ. || 555 καὶ κατ. S L A Y: κατ. vulgo (Weil). || 559 διαμένω vulgo, cp. Libanius iv 292, 14; om S¹ L¹; μένω S between the lines; διατελῶ S in margin (Cobet). || 560 πείθοισθε vulgo (Bl); πείθεσθε S L (Th); πείσεσθε EMüller (Weil). || 561 ἴσως A Y (GHSchaefer, Bekker, Dind, Bl): ἂν ἴσως S etc ∪ ∪ ∪ (Weil, Th).

§ 72 l. 562 οὐδ' ἔμουγε S Vind 1 (Weil, Th); οὐδέ μοι L; οὐδέ γ' ἐμοὶ vulgo (Bl). || 564 ἔσομ' Bl. || 569 f τὸν ἀγαθὸν διδάσκοντα πολίτην Bl².

§ 73 l. 571 καὶ om S L¹ A (Voemel, Weil).

575 ἔχω περὶ τούτων, λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίνσομαι. οὐδ' εἶναι νομίζω τοῦ συμβουλεύοντος ὑμῖν ἔργον οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα. καὶ τοῦθ' ὅτι τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ῥαδίως οἶμαι δεῖξαι. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι 74
 580 Τιμόθεός ποτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐν ὑμῖν ἐδημηγόρησεν, ὥς δεῖ βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοέας σφῖζειν, ὅτε Θηβαῖοι κατεδουλοῦντ' αὐτούς, καὶ λέγων εἶπεν οὕτω πως·
 "εἰπέ μοι, βουλευέσθ'" ἔφη "Θηβαίους ἔχοντες ἐν νήσῳ, τί χρήσεσθε καὶ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν; οὐκ
 585 ἐμπλήσετε τὴν θάλατταν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τριήρων; οὐκ ἀναστάντες ἤδη πορεύσεσθ' εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ; οὐ καθέλξετε τὰς ναῦς;" οὐκοῦν εἶπε 75
 μὲν ταῦθ' ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἐποιήσατε δ' ὑμεῖς· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐπράχθη. εἰ δ' ὁ
 590 μὲν εἶπεν ὥς οἶόν τε τᾶριστα, ὥσπερ εἶπεν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀπερραθυμήσατε καὶ μηδὲν ὑπηκούσατε, ἂρ' ἂν ἦν γεγονός τι τῶν τότε συμβάντων τῇ πόλει; οὐχ οἶόν τε. οὕτω τοῖνον καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐγὼ λέγω καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν ὁ δεῖν' εἴπῃ, τὰ μὲν ἔργα
 595 παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ζητεῖτε, τὰ δὲ βέλτιστα [ἐπιστήμη] λέγειν παρὰ τοῦ παριόντος.

Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δ' ἂν λέγω φράσας καταβῆναι 76
 βούλομαι. χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν φημὶ δεῖν· τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν συνέχειν, ἐπανορθοῦντας εἰ

§ 75 l. 590 τὰ ἀριστα mss; τᾶριστα Bl, Th; ἀριστα Cobet, Weil. || 594 λέγω §¹ L¹ B F (Weil, Bl): + ενὶ vulgo (Th) or εν. || 595 ἀ δὲ βέλτιστ' ἢ μὴ [λέγειν] Bl, ascribing ἐπιστήμη to the repetition of certain letters in ΒΕΛΤΙCΤ(ΕΠΙCΤ)ΗΜΗ(1); τὰ δὲ βέλτισθ' ἂν (or τὸ δ' ἂν βέλτιστ') ἐπιστῆθ' λέγειν suggested by Weil. I should prefer either to bracket ἐπιστήμη, or to propose ἀ δὲ βέλτιστ' ἐνεστὶ λέγειν (§§ 63; 6 § 13; 19 §§ 70, 129, etc).

- p. 109 τι δοκεῖ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν, μὴ ὅσοις ἂν τις αἰτιά-
 σῃται τὸ ὅλον καταλύοντας· πρέσβεις ἐκπέμπειν
 πανταχοῖ τοὺς διδάξοντας, νουθετήσοντας, πρά-
 ξοντας· παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς
 πράγμασι δωροδοκοῦντας κολάζειν καὶ μισεῖν
 πανταχοῦ, ἵν' οἱ μέτριοι καὶ δικαίους αὐτοὺς α
 παρέχοντες εὖ βεβουλευσθαι δοκῶσι καὶ τοῖς
 77 ἄλλοις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς. ἂν οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασιν
 χρήσθε καὶ παύσῃσθ' ὀλιγωροῦντες ἀπάντων,
 ἴσως ἂν ἴσως καὶ νῦν ἔτι βελτίω γένοιτο. εἰ μέντοι
 καθεδεῖσθε, ἄχρι τοῦ θορυβῆσαι καὶ ἐπαινέσαι α
 σπουδάζοντες, ἐὰν δὲ δέῃ τι ποιεῖν ἀναδυνάμενοι,
 οὐχ ὁρῶ λόγον ὅστις ἄνευ τοῦ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς α
 προσήκει δυνήσεται τὴν πόλιν σῶσαι.

§ 76 l. 600 ὅσοις B L (Weil, Th): οἷς vulgo (Bl).

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΤ Γ

Πολλῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λόγων γιγνομένων p.
 ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν, περὶ ὧν
 Φίλιππος, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, οὐ
 μόνον ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικεῖ, καὶ
 πάντων οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἄν, εἰ καὶ μὴ
 5 ποιοῦσι τοῦτο, καὶ λέγειν δεῖν καὶ πράττειν,
 ὅπως ἐκείνος παύσεται τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ δίκην
 δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ πράγματα
 καὶ προειμέν' ὁρῶ, ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βλάσφημον
 10 μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθές δ' ἦ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἅπαντες
 ἐβούλουθ' οἱ παριόντες καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὑμεῖς, ἐξ
 ὧν ὡς φαυλότατ' ἤμελλε τὰ πράγμαθ' ἔξειν, οὐκ
 ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν διατεθῆναι.

§ 1 l. 4 ἄλλους S¹ L¹, Dionysius pp. 948, 976: + "Ἕλληνας
 vulgo, and Dionysius p. 978. || 6 πράττειν S L¹ only, and
 Dionysius p. 976: + ἅπασι προσήκειν vulgo and Dionysius
 p. 948. || 8 τὰ πράγματα πάντα Urb: τὰ πράγματα om Andreas
 Spengel. || 10 δ' ἦ vulgo (Weil, Th): δέ S¹ L¹ F¹ and M P
 in Dionysius p. 948 (Voemel, Bl); 'a harsh and unusual
 ellipse, H| would be easily dropped before E| Weil. || 12
 ἤμελλε most mss (Weil, Th). || 12 [τὰ πράγμαθ']? Bl.

- 2 πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἷτια τούτων, καὶ οὐ παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δὴ εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματ' ἀφίκται, μάλιστα δ', ἅνπερ ἐξετάζητ' ὀρθῶς, εὐρήσετε, διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προαιρουμένους, ὧν τινὲς μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται, ταῦτα φυλάττοντες, οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόνοιαν ἔχουσιν, οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ὑμᾶς οἰονταὶ δεῖν ἔχειν, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας αἰτιώμενοι καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως ἢ μὲν πόλις αὕτῃ παρ' αὕτῃς
 p. 111 δίκην λήψεται καὶ περὶ τούτ' ἔσται, Φιλίππῳ δ' ἐξέσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ὃ τι βούλεται.
 3 αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι συνήθεις μὲν εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἷτια δὲ τῶν κακῶν. ἀξιῶ δ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἅν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι. σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὧδί. ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω κοινὴν οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' ἡμῖν μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας ὃ τι βούλονται λέγοντας, ἢ πολίτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευεῖν
 4 παντάπασιν ἐξεληλάκατε. εἰθ' ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν

§ 2 l. 14 τούτων S L¹: τοῦ ταύθ' οὕτως ἔχειν vulgo (due to another recension); cp. 23 § 102, Prooem 41 § 2. || 20 [περὶ]! Bl, cp. Aristides ii 640. || 21 οὐκοῦν—ἔχειν om S¹ L¹ only (Th), an addition due to another recension. || 24 ἢ μὲν πόλις αὕτῃ παρ' αὕτῃς vulgo (αὐτῆς Bl²); ἢ πόλις παρ' αὕτῃς S L¹; ἢ μὲν πόλις παρ' αὕτῃς Weil; ἢ πόλις (Bl¹, Th). || 26 λέγειν καὶ πράττειν MSS: πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν Dionysius p. 1127 (Bl¹).

ἐκ τούτου, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν (καὶ
 40 κολακεύεσθαι) πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν, ἐν
 δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν
 ἐσχάτων ἤδη κινδυνεύειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν
 οὕτω διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω· εἰ δ' ἂ
 συμφέροι χωρὶς κολακείας ἐβελήσεται ἀκούειν,
 45 ἔτοιμος λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ φαύλως τὰ
 πράγματ' ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προεῖται, ὅμως ἔστιν,
 ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τὰ δεόντα ποιεῖν βούλησθε, ἔτι πάντα
 ταύτ' ἐπανορθώσασθαι. καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως 5
 ἔστιν ὃ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ· τὸ χεῖριστον
 50 ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα
 βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε
 μικρὸν οὔτε μέγ' οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων
 ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ'
 ἂ προσήκε πραττόντων οὕτω διέκειτο, οὐδ' ἂν p. 1
 55 ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι βελτίω. νῦν δὲ τῆς
 ῥαθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἀμελείας
 κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ κεκρά-
 τηκεν· οὐδ' ἥττησθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κεκίνησθε.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὠμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ πόλει 6
 60 πολεμεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' εἶδει τὸν
 παρίοντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλευεῖν, ἢ ὅπως ἀσφαλίστατα

§ 4 l. 39 [ἐκ τούτου] † Bl.

§ 5 l. 52 οὐδ' ἐν Weil.

§§ 6, 7 ll. 59-72 εἰ μὲν οὖν—πολεμεῖν δεῖ om S¹ L¹ (Baier and Sauppe, Franke, Westermann); ascribed to Dem himself by Spengel, Bl, Weil, Th; supposed by Dindorf to have been purposely omitted by some rhetorician in abridging the speech; regarded by Voemel, Rehdantz and apparently Bekker as accidentally omitted, owing to § 6 and § 8 both beginning with εἰ μὲν οὖν. || 61 ὅπως: + ὡς Reiske, ср. 14 § 14.

καὶ ῥῆστ' αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὕτως ἀτόπως
 ἔνιοι διάκεινται, ὥστε πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντος ἐκείνου
 καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔχοντος καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους
 ἀδικούντος, ἀνέχεσθαι τινῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων 6
 πολλάκις, ὡς ἡμῶν τινές εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸν πόλεμον,
 ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι καὶ διορθοῦσθαι περὶ τούτου·
 7 ἔστι γὰρ δέος μήποθ' ὡς ἀμυνόμεθα γράψας τις καὶ
 συμβουλευσας εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ πεποιηκέναι
 τὸν πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων λέγω καὶ
 διορίζομαι[· εἰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστι τὸ βουλευέσθαι
 περὶ τοῦ πότερον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἢ πολεμεῖν δεῖ].
 8 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ
 ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστι τοῦτο, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξωμαι, φήμ'
 ἔγωγ' ἄγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα 11
 γράφειν καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φευακίζειν ἀξιῶ·
 εἰ δ' ἕτερος τὰ ὅπλ' ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων καὶ
 δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτόν, τοῦνομα μὲν τὸ τῆς
 εἰρήνης ὑμῖν προβάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις αὐτὸς
 τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου χρήται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν 12
 ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν δ' εἰρήνην ἄγειν εἰ
 9 βούλεσθ', ὥσπερ ἐκείνος, οὐ διαφέρωμαι. εἰ
 p. 113 δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐξ ἧς
 ἐκείνος πάντα τᾶλλα λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤξει,
 πρῶτον μὲν μαίνεται, ἔπειτ' ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν, 13
 οὐχ ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγει·
 τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων χρημάτων
 πάντων Φίλιππος ὠνεῖται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν
 ὑμῖν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμείσθαι.

1. 62 αὐτὸν ὡς: om Y (Bl). || 67 τούτου: τούτων A (Bl).

§ 7 ll. 71 f [εἰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν—πολεμεῖν δεῖ] Bl; regarded by Weil as an alternative for the next sentence, εἰ μὲν οὖν—ἄρξωμαι.
 || 72 πότερον MSS ὡς: πότερ' Bl.

⁹⁰ Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ἕως 10
 ἂν ἡμῖν ὁμολογήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἑσμέν
 εὐθηέστατοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν
 αὐτὴν βαδίζῃ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ, εἴπερ
 οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποίηκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι.
⁹⁵ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ὀλυνθίοις, τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων 11
 τῆς πόλεως στάδια, εἶπεν, ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον,
 ἢ κείνους ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐν
 Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἰ τις
 αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ
¹⁰⁰ πρέσβεις πέμπων τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους· τοῦτο
 δ' εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους ἐπορεύετο, καὶ
 πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἦσαν οἱ παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ
 πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἤριζον οἱ πολλοί,
 Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσιτελήσειν τὴν ἐκείνου πάροδον.
¹⁰⁵ καὶ μὴν καὶ Φερὰς πρῶν, ὡς φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος 12
 εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβὼν, καὶ τὰ
 τελευταῖα τοῖς ταλαιπώροις Ὀρεΐταις τουτοῖσι,
 ἐπισκεψομένους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομ-
 φέναι κατ' εὐνοίαν· πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς
¹¹⁰ ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν, συμμάχων δ'
 εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις
 καιροῖς παρῆναι. εἴτ' οἶεσθ' αὐτόν, οἱ ἐποί- 13
 ῃσαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν κακόν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλά-

§ 11 l. 97 αὐτόν Vind 1, Urb, Pal 1 (Bl): αὐτὸν S O eto
 (Voemel, Weil, Th). || ἢ αὐτόν <μὴ> Cobet MC 33; μὴ would
 have been needed if the preceding clause had been μὴ ἐν
 Ὀλύνθῳ οἰκεῖν.

§ 12 l. 109 [κατ' εὐνοίαν] Cobet MC 17. || 110 καὶ στασιάζουσιν S L¹ A (Weil, Th): [] Cobet, Bl; + ἐν αὐτοῖς vulgo.

§ 13 l. 112 α S L: + μὲν vulgo and Dionysius pp. 948,
 978 (Bl).

- p. 114 ξαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν αἰρεῖσθαι
 μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ
 προρρήσεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἔως ἂν
 14 ἐκόντες ἐξαπατᾶσθε; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ
 γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώπων,
 εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλούντων
 αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων, ἐκείνος
 ἐκλύσας τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ
 φιλονικίαν, ἐφ' αὐτὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι, καὶ
 τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς λόγους
 ἀφέλοιτο, οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς
 ἐκείνός γ' οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει.
 15 Ἄλλ' ἔστιν ὧ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν
 ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων
 τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἢ πολεμοῦνθ' αὐτῷ σκέψαιτ'
 ἂν; οὐδεὶς δῆπου. ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιππος ἐξ ἀρχῆς,
 ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγонуίας, οὐπω Διοπίθους
 στρατηγούντος, οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρονήσῳ
 νῦν ἀπεσταλμένων, Σέρριον καὶ Δορίσκον ἐλάμ-
 βανεν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σερρείου τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ
 ὄρους στρατιώτας ἐξέβαλλεν, οὗς ὁ ὑμέτερος
 16 στρατηγὸς κατέστησεν. καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων

l. 117 [ἐκόντες] Bl¹.

§ 14 l. 122 φιλονικίαν mss (Weil): cp. 5 § 3. || 124 ἀφελαιθ' Bl².

§ 15 l. 131 τῶν ἐν X. νῦν ὄντων vulgo. || 132 [Σέρριον καὶ] regarded by Bl² as interpolated from [10] § 8, 18 § 70, and as incompatible with Σερρείου τείχους; two mss of Harpocr (C G) make Σίριον (sic) and Σ. τ. alternative names for the same place (χωρίου, not χωρίων). || ἐλάμβανεν § L¹ (l. 12 § 12 λαβὼν): κατελάμβανε vulgo. || 134 [ὁ] Bl². || 135 ἐγκατέστησεν A (Dindl).

§ 16 l. 135 ταῦτα A, Urb: τοιαῦτα B L.

τί ἐποίει; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὤμωμόκει. καὶ
 μηδεὶς εἶπη, τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἢ τί τούτων
 μέλει τῇ πόλει; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτα, ἢ
 μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος
 140 οὗτος· τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, ἂν τ' ἐπὶ
 μικροῦ τις ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μείζονος παραβαίνει, τὴν
 αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. φέρε δὴ νῦν, ἡνίκ' εἰς
 Χερρόνησον, ἣν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες
 ὑμετέραν ἐγνώκασιν εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ
 145 βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ;
 φησὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου 17
 δέω (ταῦτα ποιοῦντ' ἐκείνον ἄγειν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν p. 1
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην, ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον
 καὶ Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδας κατασκευάζοντα καὶ νῦν
 150 ἐπὶ Θράκῃ παριόντα καὶ τὰν Πελοποννήσου
 σκευωρούμενον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα πράττει μετὰ τῆς
 δυνάμεως ποιοῦντα, λύειν φημι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ
 πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματ'
 ἐφιστάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ
 155 τοῖς τείχεσιν ἤδη προσαγάγωσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ
 φήσετε· ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθῇην, ταῦτα
 πράττων καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ
 πολεμεῖ, καὶ μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ. τίσιν 18

1. 136 [εἰρήνην—ὤμωμόκει] EMüller: εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὤμωμόστο
 proferred by Bl. || 138 ταῦτα S L (Bl): + ἐστι vulgo. || 140
 [οὗτος] Bl¹. || 145 ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ MSS: , ταῦτα ποιεῖ τί; Bl
 with one ms of Schol Hermog.

§ 17 l. 146 φησὶ all mss except S (φήσ) and L (φήσ). || τοσούτου
 S (Voemel). || 149 τυραννίδας Reiske, Libanius iv 821 (Bl, cp.
 S § 36): τυραννίδα U U mss. || 151 μετὰ mss: δὲ Schol Hermog
 p. 326 (Bl), 'per milites suos Philippus Enboeam invaserat,
 Megara adortus erat, non ipse una fuerat' Bl. || 154 [αὐτὰ]!
 Bl². || 155 [ἤδη] Bl.

οὖν ὑμεῖς κινδυνεύσαιτ' ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο; τῷ
τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάρων
καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι
κύριον, τῷ Πελοποννησίους τάκείνου φρονῆσαι.
εἴτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν
ιστάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς
19 ὑμᾶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας
ἀνείλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολε-
μεῖν ὀρίζομαι. ὑμᾶς δ', εἰ μὴ ἀμύνησθ' ἤδη, σωφρο-
νήσειν φημί, εἰ μὴ δ' ἐάσητ', οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὅταν
βούλησθε δυνήσεσθαι ποιῆσαι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν
γ' ἀφέστηκα τῶν ἄλλων ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τῶν συμβουλευόντων, ὥστ' οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ
20 Χερρονήσου νῦν σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου, ἀλλ'
ἐπαμύναί μὲν τούτοις, καὶ διατηρῆσαι μὴ τι
πάθωσι, καὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐκεῖ νῦν στρατιώταις πάνθ'
ὅσων ἂν δέωνται ἀποστεῖλαι, βουλευέσθαι μέντοι
p. 116 περὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ
μεγάλῳ καθεστώτων. βούλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐξ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων
οὕτω φοβοῦμαι, ἵν', εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς λογίζομαι,
μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν'
ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρα
βούλεσθε, ποιήσησθε, ἂν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφώ-
σθαι δοκῶ, μήτε νῦν μήτ' αὖθις ὡς ὑγιαίνοντί
μοι προσέχητε.

§ 19 l. 165 δεῖ nearly all mss: δέω A (Bl), cp. § 20, 18 § 300. || 169 δυνήσεσθαι Reiske, Cobet: δυνήσεσθε mss.

§ 20 ll. 174 f καὶ τοῖς—ἀποστεῖλαι om S L. || 182 ἂν τοῖς (Bl): εἰν S, making an iambic line.

¹⁸⁵ Ὅτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ (τὸ 21
κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος ἠΐξεται, καὶ ἀπίστως, καὶ
στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες,
καὶ ὅτι πολλῷ παραδοξότερον ἦν τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν
ἐξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι, ἢ νῦν, ὅθ' οὕτω πολλὰ
¹⁹⁰ προεἶληφε, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι,
καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτ' ἂν ἔχοιμι διεξελθεῖν,
παραλείψω. ἀλλ' ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκότας ἅπαντας 22
ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ
οὐ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι
¹⁹⁵ γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἕλληνικοί. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; τὸ
ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ' ἑν' οὕτωςι
περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ
καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντα. καίτοι 23
προστάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντ' ἔτη καὶ τρία
²⁰⁰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προστάται δὲ τριάκονθ'
ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἰσχυσαν δέ τι καὶ
Θηβαῖοι τοιούτοις τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους μετὰ
τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐθ' ὑμῖν
οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδὲ πώποτ'
²⁰⁵ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλοισθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ

§ 21 l. 185 τὸ MSS (Weil, Th): τοῦ Aristeides ii 136 (Bl). ||
188 [ἦν] Bl ◯ ◯ ◯ ('ἐστὶ would make better sense'). || 190
ποιήσασθαι Cobet MC 33.

§ 22 l. 192 ἅπαντας MSS ◯ ◯ ◯: πάντας Bl.

§ 23 l. 201 δέοντ' αἰ! Bl, to avoid ◯ ◯ ◯: cp. § 24 καὶ πάλιν
Λακ. || 202 τοιούτοις τοὺς τελ. χρ. S A (Weil); τοὺς τελ.
τοιούτοις χρ. vulgo (Th); τὰ τελευταῖα ταυτὶ! Bl. || 203 f οὐθ' . .
οὔτε . . οὔτε MSS ◯ ◯ ◯ (Weil, Th): οὐχ . . οὐ . . οὐ
Aristeides ix 347 (Bl). || 206 [ποιεῖν—βούλοισθε] Cobet MC
167.

- 24 δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς
 τότ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετριῶς
 P 117 ἐδόκουν προσφέρεισθαι, πάντες φῶντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ
 μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς, μετὰ τῶν ἡδίκημέ- 11
 νων πολεμεῖν, καὶ πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄρξασιν
 καὶ παρελθούσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν,
 ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν ἐπεχείρουν καὶ πέρα τοῦ
 μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότ' ἐκίνουν, πάντες εἰς
 πόλεμον κατέστησαν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες 21
 25 αὐτοῖς. καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν; ἀλλ'
 ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν
 ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃ τι ἡδικούμεθ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων,
 ὅμως ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικουμένους ἐωρώ-
 μεν, πολεμεῖν φμεθα δεῖν. καίτοι πάνθ' ὅσ' 11
 ἐξημάρτηται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς τριά-
 κοντ' ἐκείνοις ἔτεσιν καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις
 ἐν τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐλάττον' ἐστὶν ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὧν Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκ' οὐχ
 ὀλοῖς ἔτεσιν, οἷς ἐπιπολάζει, ἡδίκηκε τοὺς 25
 Ἕλληνας, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ μέρος τούτων ἐκείνα.
 26 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ βραχείας λόγου ῥῆδιον δεῖξαι. Ὀλυνθον
 μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο
 καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης ἔω, ἃς ἀπάσας
 οὕτως ὁμῶς ἀνῆρηκεν, ὥστε μηδ' εἰ πάποτε 27

§ 24 l. 210 αὐτοῖς om Harleianus (Bl), cp. l. 216.

§ 25 l. 220 φμεθα Bl, cp. § 7: φόμεθα mss (dot under o ir.
 S). || 225 [ἔτεσιν] Bl ~ ~ ~ || 226 μέρος corr O (Rehdantz etc):
 πέμπτον μ. S¹ L¹, πολλοστὸν μ. vulgo (Dind), πολλοστὸν
 πέμπτον μ. v.l.; οὐδὲν μ. (EMüller) preferred by Bl, cp.
 Isocr 2 § 11, 12 §§ 6, 64; 5 § 43. || 227 καὶ—δειξαι om
 S¹ L¹.

ὥκηθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν· καὶ
 τὸ Φωκέων ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ἀνηρημένον σιωπῶ.
 ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας
 καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήρηται, καὶ τετραρχίας
 235 κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύωσιν; αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις 27
 οὐκ ἤδη τυραννοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν νήσῳ πλησίον
 (Θηβῶν καὶ Ἀθηνῶν; οὐ διαρρήδην εἰς τὰς p. 118
 ἐπιστολὰς γράφει "ἐμοὶ δ' ἐστὶν εἰρήνη πρὸς
 240 τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ βουλομένους"; καὶ οὐ γράφει
 μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ'
 Ἑλλήσποντον οἵχεται, πρότερον ἦκεν ἐπ'
 Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἥλιν ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν
 Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάρους ἐπεβούλευσεν πρῶην,
 245 οὐθ' ἢ Ἑλλὰς οὐθ' ἢ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν
 χωρεῖ τὰνθρώπου. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ 28
 Ἕλληνες ἅπαντες καὶ ἀκούοντες, οὐ πέμπομεν
 πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγανακ-
 τοῦμεν· οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διακείμεθα καὶ διοωρύγ-
 250 μεθα κατὰ πόλεις, ὥστ' ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας
 οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν συμφερόντων οὔτε τῶν δεόντων

§ 26 l. 231 ὥκηθησαν good MSS: ψκίσθησαν L and vulgo,
 Dionysius p. 1119, Strabo p. 121. || προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥάδιον
 εἰπεῖν S L (Weil, Th); εἶναι β. πρ. εἰπεῖν O; β. εἶναι πρ. εἰπεῖν
 Dobree; προσελθόντ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ? Bl. || 233 τὰς πολιτείας κ. τὰς
 πόλεις S L: τὰς πόλεις κ. τὰς πολιτείας vulgo and Harpocr s.v.
 ἔθνος; καὶ τὰς πόλεις om Dionysius p. 1120, [] GHSchaefer,
 Cobet MC 467 (Dindl); but [7] § 32 shows that the Phereans
 were deprived of their πόλεις; κατὰ τὰς πόλεις Buttmann and
 Funkhaenel.

§ 27 l. 242 [πρότερον] Bl ∪ ∪ ∪. || 244 [πρῶην] Bl, op.
 19 § 334.

§ 28 l. 248 [πρὸς ἀλλήλους] Bl, om Ariasteides ix 346.

- πρᾶξαι δυνάμεθα, οὐδὲ συστήναι, οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν
βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας οὐδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ
29 μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον περιορῶμεν, τὸν
χρόνον κερδᾶναι τοῦτον ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται, ²⁵
ἕκαστος ἐγνωκώς (ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ), οὐχ, ὅπως
σωθῆσεται τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, σκοπῶν οὐδὲ
πράττων· ἐπεὶ, ὅτι γ' ὥσπερ περίοδος ἡ κατα-
βολὴ πυρετοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ τῷ
πάνυ πόρρω δοκοῦντι νῦν ἀφεστάναι προσ- ²⁶
• 30 ἔρχεται, οὐδεὶς ἄγνοεῖ. καὶ μὴν κάκεινός γ' ἴσθ'
ὅτι, ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν
ἐπασχον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ γνησίων γ'
δυντῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡδικοῦντο, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν
τρόπον ἂν τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ υἱὸς ²⁶
ἐν οὐσίᾳ πολλῇ γεγωνὼς γνήσιος διώκει τι μὴ
καλῶς μὴδ' ὀρθῶς, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτ' ἄξιον
μέμφεως εἶναι καὶ κατηγορίας, ὥς δ' οὐ προσήκων
p. 119 ἢ ὥς οὐ κληρονόμος τούτων ὢν ταύτ' ἐποίει, οὐκ.
31 ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. εἰ δέ γε δούλος ἢ ὑποβολιμαῖος τὰ ²⁷
μὴ προσήκοντ' ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλεις
ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον πάντες ἂν
ἔφησαν εἶναι. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὧν
ἐκείνος πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον

§ 29 l. 255 κερδᾶναι MSS (Weil, Th): κερδῆναι Bl, cp. Kühner-Blass *Gr Gr* i ii § 267, l. || ἀπόλλυθ' Bl. || 258 περίοδος, Voemel, Bl. || 261 ἄγνοεῖ § L¹, Aristides ix 352 (Voemel, Bekker, Bl): + δῆπον vulgo, as in [10] § 2, (Weil, Th); 'ironia minus apta h. l. videtur' Voemel.

§ 30 l. 264 [ἡδικοῦντο] ? Bl. || 265 et τις υἱὸς F Y (Bl²). || 266 et οὐσία Cobet MC 33. || [γνήσιος] Cobet ibid. || 267 [κατ'] Bl. || ἄξιον edd: ἄξιος MSS. || 268 εἶναι om Δ¹ (Andreas Spengel, Bl¹).

§ 31 l. 270 † om Aug 2 (Bl). || 274 [οὐχ] οὕτως Cobet MC 34.

15 οὐχ Ἑλληνος ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς
 Ἑλλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὄθεν
 καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας, ὄθεν
 οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἢν πρότερον
 πρίασθαι.

20 Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ 32
 πρὸς τῷ πόλεις ἀνηρηκέναι, τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια,
 τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγῶνα, κὰν αὐτὸς μὴ
 παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγωνοθετήσοντας πέμπει;
 κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας παρόδων
 25 ἐστὶ, καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ξένους τοὺς τόπους τούτους
 κατέχει; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρώσας
 ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 Ἀμφικτύονας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπασι μέτεστι;
 γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς ὃν χρὴ τρόπον πολιτεύ- 33
 30 εσθαι; πέμπει δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν,
 τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἑρετριέων, τοὺς δ'
 ἐπ' Ὀρεόν, τύραννον Φιλιστιδὴν καταστήσοντας;
 ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὀρώντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀνέχονται,
 καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν
 35 ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ'
 ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δ' οὐδεὶς
 ἐπιχειρῶν. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' οἷς ἡ Ἑλλὰς 34
 ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ'

1. 275 [τοῖς Ἑλλησιν] Bl. || 276 βαρβάρων Bl. || 278 σπουδαῖον
 οὐδὲν ἢν πρότερον πρίασθαι nearly all mss (Weil, Th), cf.
 Libanius iv 333, 821 (πρίασθαι om S¹ L¹, Benseler): πρίασθαι
 τις δὲ ποτε Bl, from Lucian *Parasitus* 42 (where δὲ is omitted).
 § 32 ll. 284-8 κύριος—μέτεστι; om S¹ L¹ (Voemel, Bekker,
 Cobet MC 33).

§ 33 l. 294 ὥσπερ S L¹: + οἱ vulgo (Bl²). || 296 f οὐδ'
 ἐπιχειρεῖν suggested by Sallust *Or Philippi* § 12 (Bl²).

§ 34 l. 298 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ om Δ (Benseler, Bl²).

- ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῦσχατόν ἐστιν. οὐ Κορινθίωσι ἐπ' ³⁰
- p. 120 Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευκάδα; οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὁμώμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παραδώσειν; οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχίνον ἀφήρηται, καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ
- 35 Βυζαντίους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐχ ἡμῶν, ἐὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερρονήσου τὴν μεγίστην ³⁰ ἔχει πόλιν Καρδίαν; ταῦτα τοῖνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες, μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακιζόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον, τί οἴεσθ', ἐπειδὰν καθ' ³¹ ἑν' ἡμῶν ἐκάστου κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσῃ;
- 36 Τί οὖν αἴτιον τουτωνί; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας αἰτίας, οὔτε τόθ' οὕτως εἶχον ἐτοιμῶς πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν. ἦν τι τότε, ἦν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ³¹ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοαῖσι, ὃ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτου, καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἤγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς μάχης οὐδεμιᾶς ἡττᾶτο, νῦν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα

l. 299 [ἀδικεῖται] Bl. || 303 ἀφήρηται, EMüller (Weil, Bl): ἀφήρηται; Th. || καὶ νῦν—ὄντας placed by Spengel after Φιλιστίδην καταστήσαντας (292). || 304 [ὄντας] Bl.² 'quo clarius appareat socios dici Thebanorum, non Philippi.'

§ 35 l. 305 [τὴν] Bl.². || 307 μαλακιζόμεθα mss (Voemel, Weil, Th): μαλκίον ancient v.l. in Harpocr, Suid, Phot (GHSchaefer, Dind, Westermann, Cobet, Bl); cp. however Dio Cassius xlv p. 287 D. || 311 τί om A F (Reiske, Cobet MC 468, Dind); but cp. 18 § 240 τί ἂν οἴεσθε . . . τί ποιῶν ἂν ἡ τί λέγειν . . .

§ 36 l. 312 αἴτιον mss: αἰτίον Dobree; τὸ αἴτιον Bl. || 318 ἤγε mss; ἤγεν Bl: διήγε GHSchaefer, Cobet MC 35. || 319 οὐδεμιᾶς om Aristides ix 353. [] Bl.

20 λελύμανται καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε τὰ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων πράγματα. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; οὐδὲν 37
 ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄρχων
 βουλομένων ἢ διαφθεῖρειν τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρήματα
 λαμβάνοντας ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ χαλεπώτατον
 25 ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντ' ἐλεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρίᾳ
 μεγίστῃ τοῦτον ἐκόλαζον, καὶ παραίτησις οὐδεμί
 ἦν οὐδὲ συγγνώμη. τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἐκάστου 38
 τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν ἡ τύχη καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσιν
 κατὰ τῶν προσεχόντων πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, p. 121
 30 οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ
 τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 ὁμόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς
 βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ' ὅλως τοιοῦτον οὐδέν.
 νῦν δ' ἅπανθ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται 39
 35 ταῦτα, ἀντείστηται δ' ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφ' ὧν
 ἀπόλωλε καὶ νεόοσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. ταῦτα δ'
 ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἴληφέν τι· γέλως, ἂν
 ὁμολογῇ· συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχομένοις· μῖσος, ἂν

ll. 320 f τὰ (πάντα τὰ A) τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα vulgo (Th);
 πάντα τὰ πράγματα S L¹ only, with Aristides ix 353 (Weil);
 τὰ πράγματα Bl¹; τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Bl².

§ 37 ll. 321 f οὐδέν—ἀλλ' ὅτι om S¹ L¹ Y Vind 4 (Voemel,
 Th). || 326 τοῦτους? Bl, to avoid υυυ. || καὶ παραίτησις—
 συγγνώμη om S¹ L¹ Y Vind 4 (Voemel, Th); an alternative to
 καὶ τιμωρία—ἐκόλαζον (Weil).

§ 38 l. 329 προσεχόντων S¹ L¹ Y Vind 4: + καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν
 ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν κατὰ τῶν πάντα δ προσήκει παρτόντων vulgo,
 from 4 § 5 and 2 § 23. || 330–341 παρὰ—τῆς ἄλλης preserved in
 Kom el Qath papyrus (2 cent. A.D.) with no important v.l.

§ 39 l. 335 [ἀντὶ τούτων] Bl¹, not Bl². || 338 συγγνώμη τοῖς
 ἐλεγχομένοις om S L¹ (Voemel), 'out of place before μῖσος, ἂν
 τοῦτοις τις ἐπιτιμᾷ, for τοῦτοις is *peius*'; regarded by Weil as
 due to an alternative recension, as in § 37. || δὲ ἂν τοῦτοις
 ἐπιτιμᾷ? Bl¹, to avoid υυυ; ἂν τις τοῦτοις ἐπ. Bl² from Schol.

τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμᾶ· τᾶλλα πάνθ' ὅσ' ἐκ τοῦ
 40 δωροδοκεῖν ἡρτῆται. ἐπεὶ τριῆρεις γε καὶ
 σωμάτων πλήθος καὶ χρημάτων, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
 κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τᾶλλ' οἷς ἂν τις ἰσχύειν
 τὰς πόλεις κρίνῃ, νῦν ἅπασιν καὶ πλείῳ καὶ
 μείζῳ ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῷ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
 πάντα ἄχρηστ', ἀπρακτ', ἀνόνητα ὑπὸ τῶν
 πωλούντων γίνονται.

- 41 "Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει τὰ μὲν νῦν ὁράτε
 δῆπου καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ
 δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀνωθεν χρόνοις ὅτι τὰναντί εἶχεν ἐγὼ
 δηλώσω, οὐ λόγους ἐμαντοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμ-
 ματα τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων, ἃ κείνοι
 κατέθεντ' εἰς στήλην χαλκὴν γράψαντες εἰς
 ἀκρόπολιν, οὐχ ἱν' αὐτοῖς ἢ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἀνεν-
 τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ δέοντ' ἐφρόνουσι) ἀλλ' ἱν' ὑμεῖς
 ἐχῆθ' ὑπομνήματα καὶ παραδείγματα, ὥς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιού-
 των σπονδάζειν προσήκει. τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα;
 42 "Ἄρθμος" φησὶν "Πυθῶνακτος Ζελεΐτης ἀτι-
 μος καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ
 τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸς καὶ γένος." εἶθ' ἡ αἰτία

§ 40 l. 341 *χρημάτων* S¹ L¹ (Voemel and Weil with comma after *χρημάτων*, Bl after *πλήθος*): + *πρόσοδοι* (Th) or *πρόσδοος* (4 § 40) vulgo, in lacuna of papyrus. || 344 *μείζῳ* [ἐστὶ] Bl; *μείζον* ἐστὶ (or *μείζῳ* ἐστὶ) Benseler. || ταῦτα πάντα A (Bl); ἀπαντα ταῦτ' O sto (Th); ταῦτα S L¹ (Voemel, Weil).

§ 41 l. 348 [ἐμοῦ] Bl, cp. 19 § 233 *περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδένος προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος*, 'orator testes producere, at non ipse pro teste esse solet' Bl. || 351 τῶν πρ. τῶν ὑμ. mss: τῶν ὑμ. πρ. Vind 4 and Aristides ix 354 (Bl): *προγόνων* S¹ L¹ and Aristides: + *δεικνύων* vulgo. || 353-6 οὐχ ἱν'—*γράμματα* omi S¹ L¹ (Voemel).

§ 42 l. 357 ὁ Πυθ. mss: Πυθ. edd. || *ἀτιμος* S¹ L: + *ἐστω* vulgo.

360 γέγραπται, δι' ἣν ταύτ' ἐγένετο· "ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν p. 1
 τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν." ταύτ'
 ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα. λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τίς 43
 ἦν ποθ' ἡ διάνοια τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν τότε ταῦτα
 ποιούντων, ἡ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἐκεῖνοι Ζελεῖτην
 365 τινά, Ἀρθμιον, δοῦλον βασιλέως (ἡ γὰρ Ζέλει
 ἐστὶν τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ δεσπότη διακονῶν
 χρυσίον ἤγαγεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε,
 ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων
 αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους. τοῦτο δ' ἔστ' οὐχ 44
 370 ἦν οὕτωςί τις ἂν φήσειεν ἀτιμίαν· τί γὰρ τῷ
 Ζελεῖτῃ, τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξειν
 ἡμελλεν; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέγραπται
 νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῶ φόνου δικάσασθαι,
 ἀλλ' εὐαγὲς ἢ τὸ ἀποκτείναι, "καὶ ἄτιμος" φησὶν
 375 "τεθνῶτω." τοῦτο δὴ λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τού-
 των τιν' ἀποκτείναντ' εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον 45
 ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας
 ἐαυτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς
 ἔμελ' εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται καὶ
 380 διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· ἐκόλαζον

l. 360 [δι' ἣν ταύτ' (v.l. τοῦτ') ἐγένετο] Bl.

§ 43 l. 363 τῶν Ἀθ. τῶν τότε S L Δ (Weil and, with comma after τότε, Th); τῶν Ἀθ. τῶν Bl, cp. 18 § 96; τῶν τότε Ἀθ. τῶν vulgo. || 365 [Ἀρθμιον] Weil. || [ἡ γὰρ Ζ.—Ἀσίας] Cobet MO 34. || 368 [καὶ τῶν συμμάχων] Bl.

§ 44 ll. 369-376 [τοῦτο δ'—εἶναι] Dind. || 370 οὕτως Harpocr. || 371 Ζ., τῶν Ἀθ. κοινῶν εἰ S¹ L¹ and Harpocr.: Ζ. τοῦτ' ἐμελεν εἰ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν κοινῶν vulgo. || 372 ἡμελλεν Voemel, Bl: ἐμ. Weil, Th. || 373 φόνου Δ Υ¹ (Bl, Th) as in 23 § 67; δίκας φ. S etc (Voemel, Weil); δίκην φ. Harpocr. || 374 ἀλλ' εὐαγὲς ἢ (or ἦ) τὸ ἀποκτείναι om S¹ L¹ and Harpocr (Voemel, Th).

§ 45 l. 380 [μὴ—ὑπολαμβάνουσιν] Herwerden.

δ' οὕτω καὶ ἐτιμωροῦνθ' οὓς αἰσθιοιντο, ὥστε καὶ
 στηλίτας ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβέρ', οὐχ ὁ
 46 βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν· οὐ
 γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ' ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτ' 31
 οὔτε πρὸς τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ πῶς; ἵστ' αὐτοί· τί γὰρ
 δεῖ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν κατηγορεῖν; παραπλησίως δὲ
 καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν ἅπαντες οἱ λοιποὶ Ἕλληνες.
 p. 123 διόπερ φήμ' ἔγωγε καὶ σπουδῆς πολλῆς καὶ βουλῆς
 ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα προσδεῖσθαι. [τίνος;] 35
 εἶπω κελεύετε, καὶ οὐκ ὀργιεῖσθε;

[ΕΚ ΤΟΤ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ]

47 Ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν
 παραμυθεῖσθαι βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρ'
 οὕτω Φίλιππος ἐστὶν οἷός ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαι- 39
 μόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης μὲν ἤρχον, γῆς ἀπάσης,
 βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον, ὑφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν
 αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡμύνατο κακείνους ἢ πόλις
 καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος
 εἶπειν πολλὴν εἰληφότεων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν 40

1. 381 αἰσθιοιντο S, Cobet MC 35; + δωροδοκοῦντας vulgo.

§ 46 ll. 386-390 ἵστ' αὐτοί—προσδεῖσθαι τίνος om S¹ L¹
 (Voemel, Bekker, Th): 'est altera recensio (cf. imprimis
 Weiliun), qua cum altera coniuncta τίνος (390) a grammatico
 insertum est' Bl. || 388 [Ἕλληνες] Benseler, Bl. || 389 [καὶ β.
 ἀγαθῆς]! Bl. || 391 εἶπω κελεύετε Bekker, Spengel, Weil, ; Th:
 εἶπω; [κελεύετε] Bl. || εἶπω—ὀργιεῖσθε placed by Spengel before
 ἵστ' αὐτοί. || ΕΚ ΤΟΥ—ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ S Y F (Th);
 ἐκ τοῦ—ἀναγίνωσκε, ἀνάγνωσις γραμματείου Δ: [] Weil¹, Bl.
 § 47 l. 395 ἐστὶ(ν) S L¹: + τηλικούτος Δ; + τοιοῦτος vulgo
 (Th).

ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν νῦν τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν
 ἰγούμαι πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεκινήσθαι
 ,κάπιδεδωκέναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακεδαι- 48
 μονίους τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους, τέτταρας
 405 μῆνας ἢ πέντε, τὴν ὥραιάν αὐτήν, ἐμβαλόντας ἂν
 καὶ κακῶσαντας τὴν χώραν ὀπλίταις καὶ πολιτι-
 κοῖς στρατεύμασιν, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου πάλιν] . /
 οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς,
 ὥστ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' οὐδενός
 410 οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφανή
 τὸν πόλεμον. νυνὶ δ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν δήπου τὰ 49
 πλεῖστα τοὺς προδότας ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδὲν
 δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμενον·
 ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγ' ὀπλιτῶν
 415 ἄγειν βαδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλούς,
 ἰππέας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρτῆσθαι
 στρατόπεδον. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς 50
 ἵκσούντας ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπέσῃ, καὶ μηδεὶς p. 12
 ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίῃ, μηχανήματ'
 420 ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ
 χειμῶν, ὥς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος
 ὥρα τις ἣν διαλείπει. ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας 51
 εἰδότας καὶ λογιζομένους, οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι τὸν
 πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν

§ 48 l. 406 τὴν S¹ L¹ only; τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων vulgo (Th).

§ 49 l. 416 ἐξηρτῆσθαι S L O¹ Vind 4 (Voemel, Weil, Th):
 ἐξηρτῆσθαι (-ῆσθαι) A F Y corr O and marg S (Bl, Aristides i
 629 τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν παρασκευὴν ἣ πόλεμος ἐξηρτῆσθαι βούλεται),
 Thuc i 13 § 1 ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτῆτο ἢ Ἑλλάς and 121 § 3.

§ 50 l. 417 δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις corr S L: δὲ τούτοις B F O Y¹ (Bl);
 + κρατῶν vulgo.

§ 51 l. 424 [εἰς τὴν χώραν] Bl, to avoid uuu.

τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέ-
ποντας ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκ πλείστου
φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν καὶ ταῖς παρα-
σκευαῖς, ὅπως οἴκοθεν μὴ κινήσεται σκοποῦντας,
52 οὐχὶ ἵστυμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν
γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτήμαθ' ἡμῖν⁴³
ὑπάρχει, ἂν περ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ποιεῖν
ἐθέλωμεν ἃ δεῖ, ἢ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, ἥς
ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν,
ἄλλα μυρία· εἰς δ' ἀγῶν' ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος
ῥησκηται.

53 Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γινώσκειν; οὐδὲ τοῖς
ἔργοις ἐκείνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι
οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι,⁴⁴
πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃθ' ὑπηρε-
54 τοῦντας ἐκείνοις. ὁ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
θεοὺς οὐ δυνήσεσθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτ'
ἀφίχθε μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ—οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω
(πολλάκις γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖ-⁴⁵
σθαι, μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματ' ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε
λοιδορίας φθόγου σκώμματος, ἥστινος ἂν τύχῃθ'
εἴνεκ' αἰτίας, ἀνθρώπους μισθωτοὺς, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν
ἀρνηθεῖεν ἔνιοι ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν

L. 428 κινήσεται Y Vind 4: κινήσεται S etc.

§ 53 l. 439 μισῆσαι MSS (Weil, Th): μισεῖν GHSchaefer, Bl²,
cp. 8 §§ 61, 76; 19 §§ 87, 258, 289; 24 §§ 110, 196, 213;
'μισῆσαι est odium concipere, μισεῖν odiōss' Franke. || 440 τῶν
S L¹; + ἔγω vulgo (from 8 § 61, [10] § 63).

§ 54 l. 443 [ποιῆσαι] ? Bl. || 448 εἴνεκ' Bl; ἐνεκ' S A (Weil,
Th); om vulgo. || 449 [ἐνιοι] ? Bl.

150 κελεύετε, καὶ γελαῖτ', ἂν τισιν λοιδορηθῶσιν. p. 12
καὶ οὐχί πω τοῦτο δεινόν, καίπερ ὃν δεινόν. 55
ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι
δεδώκατε τούτοις, ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν.
καίτοι θεάσασθ' ὅσας συμφορὰς παρασκευάζει
155 τὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθέλειν ἀκροᾶσθαι. λέξω δ'
ἔργα, ἃ πάντες εἴσεσθε.

Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν 56
τινὲς μὲν Φιλίππου καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες
ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ὅπως μὴ δου-
160 λεύσουσιν οἱ πολῖται πράττοντες. πότεροι δὴ
τὴν πατρίδ' ἐξώλεσαν; ἢ πότεροι τοὺς ἱππέας
προὔδοσαν, ὧν προδοθέντων Ὀλυνθος ἀπώλετο;
οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντες, καὶ ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις
τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντας συκοφαντοῦντες καὶ
165 διαβύλλοντες οὕτως, ὥστε τὸν γ' Ἀπολλωνίδην
καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἐπέισθη.

Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τούτοις μόνον τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο 57
πάντα κάκ' εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ'
ἐν Ἐρετρία, ἐπειδὴ ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου
170 καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν
Πορθμόν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἤγον τὰ πράγματα,
οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φιλίππου. ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ
πολλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ ταλαίπωροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς

§ 55 l. 454 θεάσασθε, ὅσας Bl². || 455 λέξω δ' & πάντες ἐπίστασθε l Cobet MC 34. || 456 ἔργ' & Bl².

§ 56 l. 457 ἦσαν Ὀλυνθίων l Bl, to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪. || 458 Φιλίππου S L¹: τὰ Φ. φρονούντες vulgo. (cp. 463). || 459 δουλεύουσιν F Y: δουλεύουσιν S and vulgo. || 466 [ὁ τῶν Ὀλ.] Rosenberg.

§ 57 l. 467 μόνον S; μόνοις vulgo; μὲν Cobet MC 468. || 469 [ἐπειδὴ] Bl². || 472 [δὲ] Bl². || τὰ πολλὰ μᾶλλον S¹ L¹ (Weil, Bl¹, Th): + δὲ τὰ πάνθ' A (Bl²); + δὲ πάντα vulgo.

- Ἐρετριεῖς, τελευτῶντες ἐπέισθησαν τοὺς ὑπὲρ
 58 αὐτῶν λέγοντας ἐκβαλεῖν. καὶ γάρ τοι πέμψας αἱ
 Ἰππώνικον ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ
 ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τεῖχη περιεῖλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ
 καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησεν τυράννους Ἰππαρχον
 Αὐτομέδοντα Κλείταρχον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξ-
 ελήλακεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δις ἤδη βουλομένους
 p. 126 σφίζεσθαι, τότε μὲν πέμψας τοὺς μετ' Εὐρύλοχον
 ξένους, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Παρμενίωνος.
- 59 Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἐν Ὁρεῶ
 Φιλισιτίδης μὲν ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιππῳ
 καὶ Σωκράτῃ καὶ Θόας καὶ Ἀγαπαῖος, οἵπερ αἱ
 νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν (καὶ ταῦτ' ἤδεσαν ἅπαντες),
 Εὐφραῖος δὲ τις ἄνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ποτ'
 ἐνθάδ' οἰκήσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς
 60 δοῖλοι ἔσονται. οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' ὡς
 ὑβρίζετο καὶ προὔπηλακίζεθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου,
 πόλλ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν· ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον τῆς
 ἀλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προδότην τὸν Φιλισιτίδην
 καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ἃ πράττουσιν.
 συστραφέντες δ' ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγὸν
 ἔχοντες Φίλιππον καὶ πρυτανευόμενοι, ἀπάγουσι
 τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ὡς συνταράτ-
 61 τουτα τὴν πόλιν. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν
 Ὁρειτῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν, τοὺς δ'
 [ἀποτυμπανίσαι] τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ὠργίζετο, τὸν δ'

§ 58 ll. 481 f τότε—Παρμενίωνος om S¹ L¹ only.

§ 59 l. 485 Σωκράτης f Weil, 18 § 295. || 486 ἅπαντες: πάντες Bl, to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪.

§ 60 l. 490 [ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου] Bl. || 493 α ∪ ∪ ∪: α f Bl.

500 ἐπιτήδειον ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη κἀπέχαιρεν. μετὰ
 ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὀπόσης ἡβούλουν
 ἔπραττον ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, καὶ
 κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πράξιν· τῶν δὲ πολλῶν
 εἴ τις αἰσθοίτο, ἐσίγα καὶ κατεπέπληκτο, τὸν
 505 Εὐφραῖον οἷ ἔπαθεν μεμνημένοι. οὕτω δ'
 ἀθλίως διέκειντο, ὥστ' οὐ πρότερον ἐτόλμησεν
 οὐδεὶς τοιούτου κακοῦ προσιόντος ῥῆξαι φωνήν,
 πρὶν διασκευασάμενοι πρὸς τὰ τεῖχῃ προσήσαν
 οἱ πολέμοι· τηνικαῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ
 510 προϋδίδουσιν. τῆς πόλεως δ' οὕτως ἀλούσης 62
 αἰσχροῦ καὶ κακῶς, οἱ μὲν ἄρχουσι καὶ τυραν- p. 1.
 νοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σφάζοντας ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὸν
 Εὐφραῖον ἐτοίμους ὅτιοῦν ποιεῖν ὄντας, τοὺς
 μὲν ἐκβαλόντες, τοὺς δ' ἀποκτείναντες, ὁ δ'
 515 Εὐφραῖος ἐκείνος ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, ἔργῳ
 μαρτυρήσας, ὅτι καὶ δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς
 ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνθιστήκει Φιλίππῳ.

Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζेत' ἴσως, τὸ καὶ 63
 τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους καὶ τοὺς Ἑρετριάς καὶ τοὺς
 520 Ὀρείτας ἡδὶον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου
 λέγοντας ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν; ὅπερ
 καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου
 λέγουσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἐνεστὶν ἐνίστε πρὸς
 χάριν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν· τὰ γὰρ πράγματ' ἀνάγκη
 525 σκοπεῖν ὅπως σωθήσεται· οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς

§ 61 l. 501 ἡβούλουν mss: ἐβ. Weil. || 506 οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ? Bl.
 || 508 διασκευασμένοι ? Bl. || 509 [οἱ μὲν] ? Bl.

§ 62 l. 510 πόλεως δ' Α Υ (Bl): δὲ πόλεως vulgo.

§ 63 l. 518 ποτ' αἴτιον: τὸ αἴτιον Δ; ποτε αἴτιον Dobree
 (Bl ?). Cp. l. 312. || 521 ἢ <πρὸς> Cobet.

- 64 χαρίζονται, Φιλίππῳ συμπράττουσιν. εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δεῖν ἔφασαν. πολεμεῖν καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν, οἱ δ' ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ἕως ἐγκατελήφθησαν. τὰλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἶμαι πᾶνθ', ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγω· οἱ μὲν ἐφ' οἷς⁵³ χαριούνται, ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον σωθήσεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα οὐχ οὕτως πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ δι' ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολλοὶ προσέεντο, ἀλλ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς
- 65 ὅλοις ἠττᾶσθαι ἐνόμιζον. δ νή τὸν Δία καὶ⁵³ τὸν Ἀπόλλω δέδοικ' ἐγὼ μὴ πάθῃθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὰν εἰδῇτ' ἐκλογιζόμενοι μηδὲν <ἐθ'> ὑμῖν ἐνόν. καίτοι μὴ γένοιτο μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ πράγματ' ἐν τούτῳ· τεθνάναι δὲ μυριάκις κρείττον ἢ κολακεία τι ποιῆσαι Φιλίππου⁵⁴
- p. 128 καὶ πρόεσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινάς. καλήν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήφασιν Ὀρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππου φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτούς,
- 66 τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον ἐώθουν· καλήν γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις⁵⁴

§ 64 l. 531 ἔλεγον: + καὶ ἐλύπουσαν οὐδὲν A etc. || 532 σωθήσεσθαι S¹: + προσήσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται A etc. || 533 πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ L (Weil, Th); [πρὸς χ.] οὐδὲ Bl; οὐδὲ πρὸς χ. οὐδὲ S; οὔτε πρὸς χ. οὔτε vulgo.

§ 65 l. 537 <ἐθ'> ὑμῖν Franke (Weil, Th); ἐν ὑμῖν S L; ὑμῖν vulgo (Bl). || 538 ἐνόν S¹ L B O Y: + καὶ τοὺς εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπάγοντας ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν οὐκ ὁρῶν, ἀλλὰ (οὐδὲ Rehdiger's ms) δυσωποῦμαι· ἢ (ἢ or καὶ Spengel) γὰρ ἐξετίγηδες ἢ (οὐ Spengel) δι' ἄγνοιαν εἰς χαλεπὸν πρᾶγμα ὑπάγουσι τὴν πόλιν vulgo, an interpolation known to Harpocraes v. δυσωποῦμαι and ὑπάγουσιν. || μὲν S L A etc (Voemel, Weil, Th): οἷν O Vind 4 etc (Bl). || 541 καὶ πρόεσθαι—τινάς om S L¹ only.

§ 66 l. 545 ὑμετέρους L¹ (Weil, Bl): μὲν ὑμ. S (ἢ μ. Δ), Th, ὅμ. μὲν vulgo.

ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχω δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν-
 δουλεύουσιν γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ σφαττόμενοι.
 καλῶς Ὀλυνθίων ἐφείσατο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθέ-
 νην ἱππαρχον χειροτονησάντων, τὸν δ' Ἀπολ-
 550 λωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων. / μωρία καὶ κακία τὰ 67
 τοιαῦτ' ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ
 μηδὲν ὧν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκρωμένους, τηλι-
 καύτην ἡγεῖσθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε
 555 μὴδ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἢ δεινὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ μὴν 68
 ἐκείνῳ γ' αἰσχρὸν ὕστερόν ποτ' εἰπεῖν "τίς γάρ
 ἂν ῥήθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νῆ τὸν Δί', ἔδει γὰρ τὸ
 καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι." πόλλ' ἂν
 εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλυνθιοὶ νῦν, ἃ τότε εἰ προείδοντο,
 560 οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλοντο· πόλλ' ἂν Ὀρεῖται, πολλὰ
 Φωκεῖς, πολλὰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλὰ 69
 τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς; ἕως ἂν σφύζηται τὸ
 σκάφος, ἂν τε μείζον ἂν τ' ἔλαττον ᾖ, τότε χρῆ
 καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρ' ἐξῆς
 565 προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μῆθ' ἐκὼν μῆτ' ἄκων
 μηδεὶς ἀνατρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δ'

l. 546 ἀπήλασεν S (Weil, Th). || 547 δουλεύουσιν γὰρ Graux.
 || σφαττόμενοι S¹ L A: στρεβλοῦμενοι vulgo. || 548 καλῶς γ'
 Herwerden. || Λασθένη MSS (Th), with hiatus.

§ 67 l. 550 τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐλπίζειν almost all MSS (Weil, Th):
 ταῦτ' ἐλπίζει L alone (Bl). || 555 μὴδ' MSS (Voemel, Weil;
 μὴδ', ἂν ὀτιοῦν ᾖ, Th): < μὴδὲν, > μὴδ' Seager (Dind, Bl f).
 || πείσεσθαι MSS: ἔσεσθαι f Bl.

§ 68 l. 558 τὸ μῆ: τὸ < καὶ τὸ > μῆ Reiske, GHSchaefer,
 Dind, Cobet MC 469. || 560 < πόλλ' ἂν Ὀρετρέις, > πόλλ' ἂν
 Ὀρεῖται Spengel, cp. §§ 63, 66.

§ 69 l. 562 αὐτοῖς om Bl u u u. || 566 ἀνατρέψει Aristoteles
 ii 625 (GHSchaefer etc): ἀνατρέψη(ν) MSS.

- 70 ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχη, μάταιος ἡ σπουδή. καὶ ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἕως ἔσμεν σῶοι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἄφορμὰς πλείστας, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον, — τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις⁵⁷ ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσας κάθηται. ἐγὼ νῆ Δί
 p. 129 ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ, ὥστ' ἂν βούλησθε χειροτονήσετε. αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασιν καὶ στρατιώταις λέγω· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες δήπου δουλεύειν⁵⁷ συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ἡμῖν γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς
 71 ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιστέον· ταῦτα δὴ πάντ' αὐτοὶ παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαντες φανερά, τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάζοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις πανταχοῖ, εἰς⁵⁸ Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγω (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφίστηκε τὸ μὴ τοῦτον εἶσαι πάντα καταστρέψασθαι), ἵν', ἐὰν μὲν πείσητε, κοινωνοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἂν τι δέῃ, εἰ δὲ⁵⁸
 72 μὴ, χρόνους γ' ἐμποιῇτε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐστι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστῶσης πόλεως ἰσχὺν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδ' αἱ πέρυσιν¹ πρεσβεῖαι περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον

§ 70 l. 568 *τέως* preferred by Bl. || σῶοι MSS: σῶ Dind. 571 *ἴσως* om B Y etc. After this word the first hand of L ends, the rest of this speech and the next being added in the margin by a later hand. || ἐρωτήσας Cobet VL 92, 268: ἐρωτήσων MSS. || 576 [οἱ ἄλλοι] ? Bl.

§ 71 l. 577 αὐτοὶ S A (Voemel, Weil, Th): om vulgo (Bl. cp. § 70). || 580-3 πανταχοῖ—καταστρέψασθαι om S¹ alone.

§ 72 l. 589 πρεσβεῖαι < αἱ > Reiske (Dind, Weil).

ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν-
 δουλεύουσιν γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ σφαττόμενοι.
 καλῶς Ὀλυνθίων ἐφείσαστο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθέ-
 νην ἵππαρχον χειροτονησάντων, τὸν δ' Ἀπολ-
 550 λωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων. / μωρία καὶ κακία τὰ 67
 τοιαῦτ' ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ
 μηδὲν ὧν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκρωμένους, τηλι-
 καύτην ἡγείσθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε
 555 μὴδ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἢ δεινὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ μὴν 68
 ἐκεῖνό γ' αἰσχροὺς ὕστερόν ποτ' εἰπεῖν "τίς γὰρ
 ἂν ῥήθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νῆ τὸν Δί', ἔδει γὰρ τὸ
 καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι." πόλλ' ἂν
 εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλύνθιοι νῦν, ἂ τότ' εἰ προείδοντο,
 560 οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλοντο· πόλλ' ἂν Ὀρεῖται, πολλὰ
 Φωκεῖς, πολλὰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἔκαστοι. ἀλλὰ 69
 τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς; ἕως ἂν σῶζῃται τὸ
 σκάφος, ἂν τε μείζον ἂν τ' ἑλαττον ἦ, τότε χρὴ
 καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρ' ἐξῆς
 565 προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μῆθ' ἐκὼν μῆτ' ἄκων
 μηδεὶς ἀνατρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δ'

1. 546 ἀπήλασεν S (Weil, Th). || 547 δουλεύουσι γὰρ Graux.
 || σφαττόμενοι S¹ L A: στρεβλούμενοι vulgo. || 548 καλῶς γ'
 Herwerden. || Λασθένη mss (Th), with hiatus.

§ 67 l. 550 τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐλπίζειν almost all mss (Weil, Th):
 ταῦτ' ἐλπίζει L alone (Bl). || 555 μὴδ' mss (Voemel, Weil;
 μὴδ', ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἢ, Th): < μὴδέν, > μὴδ' Seager (Dind, Bl t).
 || πείσεσθαι mss: ἔσεσθαι ? Bl.

§ 68 l. 558 τὸ μὴ: τὸ < καὶ τὸ > μὴ Reinke, GHSchaefer,
 Dind, Cobet MC 469. || 560 < πόλλ' ἂν Ὀρετρεῖς, > πόλλ' ἂν
 Ὀρεῖται Spengel, cp. §§ 63, 66.

§ 69 l. 562 αὐτοῖς om Bl ∪ ∪ ∪. || 566 ἀνατρέψει Aristoides
 ii 625 (GHSchaefer etc): ἀνατρέψῃ(η) mss.

- 70 ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχη, μάταιος ἡ σπουδή. καὶ ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἕως ἔσμεν σφόι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὰς πλείστας, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον, — τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσας κάθηται. ἐγὼ νῆ Δι' ἔρῳ, καὶ γράψω δέ, ὥστ' ἂν βούλησθε χειροτονήσετε. αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασιν καὶ στρατιώταις λέγω· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες δήπου δουλεύειν συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ἡμῖν γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς
- 71 ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιστέον· ταῦτα δὲ πάντ' αὐτοὶ παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαντες φανερά, τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάξοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις πανταχοῦ, εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγω (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκε τὸ μὴ τοῦτον εἶσαι πάντα καταστρέφασθαι), ἵν', ἐὰν μὲν πείσητε, κοινωνοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἂν τι δέη, εἰ δέ
- 72 μὴ, χρόνους γ' ἐμποιῇτε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐστι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστῶσης πόλεως ἰσχὺν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδ' αἱ πέρυσιν πρεσβεῖαι περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον

§ 70 l. 568 *τέως* preferred by Bl. || *σῶι* MSS: *σῶ* Dind. 571 *ἴσως* om B Y etc. After this word the first hand of L ends, the rest of this speech and the next being added in the margin by a later hand. || *ἐρωτήσας* Cobet VL 92, 268: *ἐρωτήσων* MSS. || 576 [οἱ ἄλλοι] ? Bl.

§ 71 l. 577 *αὐτοὶ* S A (Voemel, Weil, Th): om vulgo (Bl. cp. § 70). || 580-3 *πανταχοῦ*—*καταστρέφασθαι* om S¹ alone.

§ 72 l. 589 *πρεσβεῖαι* < ai > Reiske (Dind, Weil).

590 ἐκείναι καὶ κατηγορίαι, ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος
 ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκεινοσὶ καὶ Ἠγήσιππος καὶ οἱ
 ἄλλοι πρέσβεις περιήλθομεν, καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν
 ἐπισχεῖν ἐκείνους καὶ μὴτ' ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν
 ἔλθειν μὴτ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὁρμήσαι. οὐ 73
 595 μέντοι λέγω, μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
 ἀναγκαῖον θέλοντας ποιεῖν, τοὺς ἄλλους παρα-
 καλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εὐθες τὰ οἰκεῖ αὐτοὺς
 προτεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φύσκειν κήδεσθαι,
 καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόν-
 600 των τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν. οὐ λέγω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ
 τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ χρήματ' ὑποστέλλειν
 φημι δεῖν καὶ τὰλλ' ὅσ' ἀξιοῦσι ποιεῖν, αὐτοὺς
 δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἑλληνας
 συγκαλεῖν, συνάγειν, διδάσκειν, νοθετεῖν· ταῦτ' p. 130
 605 ἐστὶν πόλεως ἀξίωμ' ἐχούσης, ἡλίκον ὑμῖν
 ὑπάρχει. εἰ δ' οἴεσθε Χαλκιδέας τὴν Ἑλλάδα 74
 σώσειν ἢ Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποδράσεσθαι τὰ
 πρῶγματα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεσθε· ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ ἐὰν
 αὐτοὶ σφύζονται τούτων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο

1. 590 [καὶ κατηγορίαι] Cobet *MC* 34, but cp. 8 § 37 τί οὖν
 πρεσβεύετε καὶ κατηγορεῖτε: καὶ κατ' Ἀκαρνανίαν (Winiewski);
 καὶ κατ' Ἀμβρακίαν (Droysen cp. 593); καὶ κατ' Ἀνακτορίαν
 (Voemel †); καὶ κατ' Ἠπειρον (Saupe). || 591 βέλτιστος: + καὶ
 Κλειτόμαχος καὶ Λυκούργος Δ¹; καὶ Κλ. καὶ Λ. καὶ Ἰπταρχος
 Dread (added to explain οἱ ἄλλοι). || 592 καί: + κατηγορίαι αἰς
 Liebhold (om καὶ κατηγορίαι in l. 590).

§ 73 l. 595 [αὐτοὺς] Bl². || 596 [τοὺς ἄλλους] † Bl². || 603
 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἑλληνας S B F O Y; καὶ πρώτους δ' χρησικοῦντας,
 τότε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας Δ, vulgo, from an alternative
 recension.

§ 74 l. 607 ἀποδράσεσθαι S Δ, Cobet *MC* 12: ἀποδράσεσθε
 vulgo. || 609 ἕκαστοι msn (Bl, Th): ἐκάστους Cobet *MC* 35,
 Weil.

πρακτέον· ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας⁶¹
 ἐκτήσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ
 75 μεγάλων κινδύνων. εἰ δ' ὁ βούλεται ζητῶν
 ἕκαστος καθεδεῖται, καὶ ὅπως μὴδὲν αὐτὸς
 ποιήσῃ σκοπῶν, πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲ μήποθ'
 εὖρη τοὺς ποιήσοντας, ἔπειτα δέδοιχ' ὅπως μὴ⁶²
 πάνθ' ἅμ', ὅσ' οὐ βουλόμεθα, ποιεῖν ἡμῖν
 ἀνάγκη γένηται.

76 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ
 οἶμαι καὶ νῦν ἔτ' ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγ-
 ματα τούτων γυγνομένων. εἰ δέ τις ἔχει⁶³
 τούτων βέλτιον, λεγέτω καὶ συμβουλευέτω.
 ὃ τι δ' ὑμῖν δόξει, τοῦτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί,
 συνενέγκοι.

1. 610 τοῦτο [τὸ γέρας] Bl¹; τὸ γέρας τοῦτο Bl². || 611 πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων S¹, Aug 2, Vind 3 and 4: πολλῶν < καὶ καλῶν > καὶ μεγάλων vulgo, from 3 § 36.

§ 75 l. 614 ποιήσῃ corr S, A B: ποιήσῃ S¹ ? and vulgo. || οὐδὲ S O: οὐ A F (Bl¹). || 617 γένηται S A B F O: γενήσεται vulgo. Some mss add here, what would be better in place after ποιήσοντας,—εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, εὖρηντ' ἂν πάλαι, ἐνεκά γε τοῦ μὴδὲν ἡμᾶς (ὑμᾶς) αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσίν. Cp. Cobet *MG* 35 f.

§ 76 l. 619 [ἐτι] ? Bl ∪ ∪ ∪. || 620 εἰ δέ τις ἔχει (ἐχει S²). || 621 τούτων S (Weil, Th) ∪ ∪ ∪: τι added before τούτων A, after τούτων vulgo; εἰ δ' ἔχει τις τούτων Bl¹; εἰ δ' ἔχει τούτων τις τι Bl². || 622 δόξει Vind 1, 4 (edd.): δόξει S ('η written by the first hand over an erased ε' Voemel); δόξει vulgo.

NOTES ON THE SPEECH

ON THE PEACE (OR. V)

§ 1 l. 1. ὅρῳ μὲν κτλ. The concessive particle μὲν finds its counterpart in οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ (§ 3) and not in any intervening δέ (§ 2). Cp. 4 § 38; 8 § 8.

2. δυσκολίαν . . . καὶ παραχρῆν, 'perplexity and confusion.' Here, as often in Dem., we have a combination of almost synonymous terms. For exx. of verbs so combined, see note on 4 § 3 ἴσῃτε καὶ θεώσασθε. As substantives, we have τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν (§ 21). As adjectives corresponding to the substantives in the text, we have *δυσκόλου καὶ χαλεποῦ* (§ 2). *δυσκολίαν* ἔχοντα: cp. *Prooem.* 1 § 2 *ἔχει δυσκολίαν* opp. to *εἶχε καλῶς τὰ πράγματα*, and ib. 15 § 1 *παμπόλλην δυσκολίαν ἔχειν*, also 2 § 3 *ἔχειν φιλοτιμίαν*. *παραχρῆν*: coupled elsewhere with *ἐρις* (18 § 18), *θόρυβος* (19 § 126), *ὑποψία* (25 § 103), *ἀπιστία* (14 § 36), *ἀγνωμοσύνη* (14 § 5).

3. τῷ—προεῖσθαι, 'because many interests have been sacrificed.' τῷ c. Inf. of *cause*, as in l. 171, and 6 § 13; also of *manner* or *means*, 8 § 54; 9 § 49. Cp. Goodwin *MT.* § 799. On the 'articular Inf.' in Dem. cp. note on 1 § 4 l. 33. *προεῖσθαι*: note on 1 § 9 l. 77. *μηδὲν εἶναι προύργου*, 'is useless,' *Ep.* 2 § 4 *οὐδὲν ἐστὶ προύργου τάληθ' ἔλεγεν*.

4. αὐτῶν, *not* τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων, but τῶν προεμμένων, as contrasted with τῶν ὑπολοίπων.

5. καὶ (τῷ) . . . ἡγεῖσθαι: 2 § 5 τοῦ τ' ἐκέκρινον . . . καὶ (τοῦ). *περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων*, emphatic position; '(but also because), with regard to (i.e. 'for preserving') the interests that remain, there is not a single point in which all agree as to what is expedient.' The order of construction, *μηδὲ καθ' ἐν (τῶν ὑπολοίπων) πάντας κατὰ ταῦτ' ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ συμφέρον*, is changed

for emphasis, and κατὰ ταῦτά placed before, instead of after, μὴδὲ καθ' ἑν. κατὰ ταῦτά, 'on the same principles' (20 § 166); and καθ' ἑν, 'in a single point' (21 § 116), exemplify

two different senses of κατὰ. κατὰ ταῦτά . . . ἡγήσασθαι: similarly κατὰ τῶντό is found with φρονέειν in Herod. v 3, and with γνώμην ἐκφέρεισθαι in v 36 and viii 68.

§ 21. 7. δυσκόλου . . . καὶ χαλεποῦ, 'perplexing and difficult' (of a thing); 6 § 30 δύστροπος καὶ δύσκολος (of a person). Plato *Laus* 777 B δύσκολόν ἐστι τὸ θέλημα ἀνθρώπου . . . χαλεπὸν δὲ τὸ κτήμα. Sallust *Ep.* 2 ad *Caesarem*, scio ego quam difficile et asperum factu sit consilium dare. The subject of the Gen. abs. here becomes the object of the principal verb, as often in Thuc., e.g. iv 41.

10. οἱ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι: exceptionally placed at the end (as in 6 § 9; [7] § 25) to emphasise the expression of pain and reproach.

11. χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλευέσθαι, 'resort to deliberation,' stronger than the simple βουλεύεσθαι.

12. ὑμεῖς δὲ (εἰώθατε χρῆσθαι τῷ β.) μετὰ τὰ πράγματα: 4 §§ 39, 41. Said in bitter disappointment, and with none of the satirical scorn of the Comic Poet, who said of Cleon: Κλέων Προμηθεὺς ἐστὶ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα (Lucian's *Prometheus* i p. 26).

μετὰ τὰ . . . : Dem. allows the juxtaposition of more than two short syllables when they are included in a single word (§ 8 πολέμοις), or in a substantive preceded either by an article (§ 13 ὁ πόλεμος) or by a preposition or (as here) by both. (Cp. Blass *Att. Ber.* III i 108².)

13. παρὰ ('throughout') πάντα τὸν χρόνον: 20 § 56 παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον.

14. οἷς(α): 3 § 3 ἐξ ὧν καὶ παρὼν καὶ ἀκούων σύννοια. οἷς = τοῖς αἰ.

15. εὐδοκμεῖν is explained by δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν. τὰ . . . πράγματα, 'your interests,' is similarly represented afresh in (ταῦτα) περὶ ὧν βουλευέσθε, 'the objects of your deliberations.'

16. ἐκφεύγειν ὑμᾶς: 3 § 3.

§ 31. 16. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά: 4 § 38, 1 § 4. Here it corresponds to μὴν in § 1.

18. πεπεικώς ἐμαντόν: 19 § 99 ἐαυτὸν πείσας. ἐθαλήσῃτε, 'resolve,' 4 § 7; 1 § 6; 2 § 13.

19. τοῦ θορυβεῖν, 'tumult.' θορυβεῖν, like θόρυβος, is neutral in sense, and may be used not only of murmurs and uproar (as

here, and in § 15 and 19 § 113), but also of cheers and applause (6 § 26; 8 §§ 30, 77). Both senses are combined in Plato *Rep.* 492B συγκαθεζόμενοι εἰς ἐκκλησίας σὺν πολλῷ θορύβῳ τὰ μὲν ψέγονσι τῶν λεγομένων ἢ πραττομένων τὰ δὲ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἐκβόωντες καὶ κροτοῦντες. φιλονικεῖν, not φιλονεικεῖν, the word being derived from νίκη, not from νείκος. If the word had been derived from νείκος, the corresponding adj. would have been φιλονεικῆς, neuters in -ος forming compound adjectives in -ης, e.g. ἀδελφῆς, ἀγενῆς, ἀκλεῆς. φιλόνομος is proved to be right by νερίκηκεν in Xen. *Mem.* iii 4, 3, and by διὰ νίκην in Arist. *Rhet.* i 10 (Cobet *N.L.* 691 f., *MC.* 219).

20. πόλεως: without the Article, as in *Prooem.* 12 ὥσπερ ἰπὲρ πόλεως προσήκει βουλευομένοις. Cp. ib. 9, also 22 § 64, 23 § 57, 25 § 14; Thuc. iii 38 § 7 περὶ πόλεως βουλευομένοις. Similarly 9 § 41 εἰς ἀκρόπολιν.

21. ἔξαν: dependent on οἶμαι and πεπαικὸς ἐμάντῳ (l. 18), and itself governing καὶ λέγειν καὶ συμβουλευεῖν.

23. σωθήσεται, 'recovered,' 'retrieved,' as in 19 § 6 (καίρῳ) σῶσαι. σῶζειν is sometimes used for ἀνασῶζειν and ἀνακτᾶσθαι (cp. *scire* in Cic. *pro Mil.* c. 37, *pro Rab. Post.* c. 10, *Virg. Ecl.* ix 10). ἀνασωθήσεται is proposed by Abbott and Matheson, but this seems unnecessary. ἀνασῶζειν is used by Dem. in 19 § 166 alone, while σῶζειν is found in this sense in 19 §§ 143, 252, as well as in 19 § 6, where (καίρῳ) σῶσαι is followed in § 8 by καιροὶ προεῖνται. τὰ προεῖμένα σωθήσεται is thus confirmed.

In professing ability to propose measures for the retrieval of the losses of Athens, the orator is inconsistent with his own admission that 'many interests have been sacrificed and that it is useless to make fine speeches about them' (l. 3). (Hence it has been proposed to read τὰ μὴ προεῖμένα or τὰ περιληψιμμένα.) He also implies a promise which remains unfulfilled in the sequel, unless we are to regard the retrieval of the past as likely to be the spontaneous result of adopting a sound policy in the present. Hence it has been suspected that this *Prooemium* was not originally composed for the speech before us; but that it either belongs to a speech that is lost (so Spengel), or that, like the *Prooemium* of Or. 6, it was somewhat hastily selected by the orator out of his collection of *Prooemia*, without sufficient regard to its being perfectly appropriate to the subsequent context (Rehdantz-Blass). The promise implied in τὰ προεῖμένα σωθήσεται is calculated to arrest the attention and arouse the expectation of the audience; but, in interpreting its meaning, it seems enough to say with GHSchaefer:—*hoc dicit Orator, si Athenienses nunc quiescant, fore ut rerum in meliorem statum*

conversio etiam amissa restituit. (Cp. Spengel Δημηγ. 32 (82), and Blass *Att. Ber.* III i 343².)

§ 4 l. 24. ἀκριβῶς δ' εἰδώς, 'though I am well aware'; like ὁρῶν, 'though I see' (l. 28; cp. 6 § 6). ἀκριβῶς with εἶδα (3 § 2), εἶδεν (8 §§ 41, 60), ἴσασιν (5 § 15), εἴσεται (4 § 18), εἰδότες (6 § 35).

25. τὸ λέγειν — περὶ αὐτοῦ: articular infinitival clause as Object of εἰδώς.

26. παρ' ἑμῖν: to be taken with ἐν, not with λέγειν. τῶν—λυσιτελοῦντων: partitive Gen., as in 1 § 26 τῶν ἀποπώγων, 2 § 2 τῶν αἰσχυρῶν. τοῖς ταλμῶσιν: sc. λέγειν—περὶ αὐτοῦ.

27. φορτικὸν καὶ ἐπαχθές: Seneca *de beneficiis* ii 2 *molestum . . onerosum*. The only other passage in which φορτικός, 'vulgar,' is found in Dem. is 24 § 104 καὶ γὰρ εἰ φορτικώτερον εἶναι τὸ ῥηθῆσθαι δοκεῖ.

28. ἐπαχθές, 'offensive.' It occurs in 18 § 10 ἵνα μὴδὲν ἐπαχθές λέγω, also ib. § 127, and 21 § 205 bis. Cp. Plato *Phaedo* 87 A; Plutarch *Mor.* 539 A τὸ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγειν . . ἐπαχθές. Though in his public speeches Dem. often speaks of himself (1 § 16; 3 §§ 21, 32; 4 §§ 1, 51; 6 §§ 20, 29; 8 § 68), he only does so under compulsion (ἀνάγκην οἶσαν ὁρῶν). Cp. 18 §§ 3, 4. It has been well said of the *De Corona* that 'the nobility of this great speech declares itself not least in this, that the inevitable recital of personal service never once sinks into self-glorification' (Jebb's *Attic Orators* ii 414).

30. μικρὰ—μνημονεύσαντας: 3 § 4 μικρὰ τῶν γεγενημένων πρῶτον ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσαι.

§ 5 l. 32. ἐπειθόν, 'were advising (you),' 'attempting to persuade (you).' They were ultimately successful, in spite of Dem. (*πεισάντων* l. 43).

33. times, e.g. Meidias, the friend of Plutarchus (21 § 110).

Εἰβόλα: the Athenians had expelled the Thebans from Euboea in 357 B.C.; but Philip, after conquering Thessaly and making himself master of the Pagasaean Gulf (352), entered into communication with Euboea (351), probably instigating the Euboeans to sever themselves from Athens, and offering Macedonian aid towards that object (4 § 37). A Macedonian party was formed in each of the Euboean cities and mercenaries were procured from the mainland. Hostilities, probably fomented by the intrigues of Philip, at length broke out in Eretria. Plutarchus, the ruler of Eretria, who professed to represent Athenian interests in that city, sent to Athens for

aid. Dem., suspecting treachery, urged the Athenians not to comply. He was opposed by Meidias, who even charged Dem. with having caused the disaffection in Euboea (21 § 110). The Athenians sent a force under Phocion. Callias, ruler of Chalcis, declared against Athens and called in Macedonian aid; and, at the beginning of an engagement near Tamynae, Plutarchus deserted Phocion, who nevertheless gained a complete victory. (Cp. Aeschines 3 § 86, Plutarch *Phocion* 12 f.; Grote c. 88.) The date of this expedition to Euboea was either 350 B.C. (ASchaefer *Dem. u. s. Z.* ii 79² f.) or (more probably) 348 (Weil *Harangues de Dém.* pp. 163-8²).

ταραττομένοι: here of disturbances caused by faction; applied to persons in 2 § 14 νοσοῦσι καὶ τεταραγμένοις.

34. πόλεμον—δαπανηρόν: it was owing to the cost of this war that no money was available for the dicasts' fees (39 § 17).

35. πρῶτος καὶ μόνος: 15 § 5; Isocr. 9 § 78. 'The first and (as the event showed) the only one'; a less illogical phrase than the converse μόνος καὶ πρῶτος (19 § 302; Aesch. 3 §§ 76, 77). The phrase is attacked by Lucian *Demon.* 29 'Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ μέγα φρονούντος ὅτι μόνος αὐτός ἐστι καὶ πρῶτος τῶν διαλεκτικῶν, ἔφη. "καὶ μὴν ὦ Ἀγαθόκλεις εἰ μὲν πρῶτος, οὐ μόνος, εἰ δὲ μόνος, οὐ πρῶτος." It is less inaccurately used in 15 § 6 παρελθὼν πρῶτος ἐγὼ παρήνεσα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ μόνος ἢ δεύτερος, and with negatives, as in 36 § 30 οὐ πρῶτος οὐδὲ μόνος (Rehdantz *Index* s.v. πρῶτος).

παρελθών: of coming forward to speak in public, l. 49; 19 § 117 ἀναστὰς . . καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ὑμᾶς, and *Proocm.* 44 § 1. In this and other senses the corresponding Present Inf. is παριέναι (note on 1 § 8 p. 134). Cp. Livy iii 67 in *conclonem vestram processi*.

36. μόνον οὐ, 'all but'; 1 § 2; 3 § 17; -19 §§ 47, 220, 311, 338. Διςπάσθη: not used elsewhere by Dem. in this sense.

37. ἐπὶ: to be taken with πεισάντων and not with ἀμαρτάνειν. 19 § 182 ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ τι λέγοιεν and ἐπὶ χρήμασιν . . ἐξηπάτηκεν ὑμᾶς. Cp. 6 § 34. μικροῖς λήμμασιν, 'petty (and illicit) gains' (cp. 3 § 33), here implying 'bribes'; cp. 19 § 339 δωροδόκου καὶ πονηροῦ καὶ παντὸς ἥττωνος λήμματος.

38. χρόνου—διελθόντος: 23 § 153; 3 § 5 διελθόντος τοῦ καινοῦ.

40. παθεῖν, οἶα—ἰβοήθησαν: Plutarchus of Eretria, finding himself unable to pay his mercenaries, handed over to them the

pick of the Athenian troops who had entered Euboea on his invitation; and Athens found herself compelled to pay 50 talents to ransom her own citizens from her pretended allies (Schol. here and on 21 § 110). τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων: § § 58. ὄντων is the predicate; 'of (all) the men that exist' = 'of all men.' οὐδένες: used in pl. of states and nations, and classes of men, as in l. 119, and 2 § 17.

42. ἔγνωτε, after παθεῖν, of learning by sad experience, as in the proverbial phrase παθὼν δέ τε νῆπιος ἔγνω (Hesiod *Works and Days* 218). τήν τε τῶν τότε ταῦτα: possibly intentional alliteration.

43. τὰ βέλτιστ' εἰρηκότ' ἐμέ: an intentional variation on τῇ τοῦ ἀντιλέγοντος ἀρετῇ, the obvious antithesis to κακίαν.

§ § 1. 44. πάλιν = δεύτερον (9 § 24), in contrast to πρώτων in l. 32. κατιδόν: Dionysius Hal. *De Comp.* p. 42 n ἐφαρμονιώτερον τε καὶ εὐερότερον, . . . τὸ γὰρ "ἰδὼν" ἀπέχρη.

Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν: 19 § 10 Ἰσχανδρὸν τὸν Νεοπτολέμου δευτεραγωνιστὴν, and §§ 12, 315. Neoptolemus was a native of Scyros; his name appears in the *διδασκαλῆαι* of 342 and 339 B.C. He is here described as availing himself of his privileged position as an actor to carry on intrigues between Athens and Macedonia. He went to Macedonia with another actor, Aristodemus; and on his return urged the Athenians to send envoys to Philip to discuss the proposed peace (Grote c. 89, viii 115). As a reciter of tragic verse he afterwards took part in the festival at Aegae, which ended in the murder of Philip (Diodorus xvi 92; Suetonius *Calig.* 57). ASchaefer *Dem. u. s. Zeit* i 247² n. 1.

45. τῆς τέχνης—ἀδείας: Arg. to Or. 19 p. 335, of N. and Aristodemus (18 § 21, 19 § 18), οὗτοι διὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τέχνην ἀδείαν εἶχον ἀπίναί θποι ἂν βούλωνται, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ πρὸς πολέμοις. Grote l.c. With τέχνης προσχῆματι (*specie artis*, Tac. *Ann.* iv 3) cp. Plut. *Lycurg.* 4 πρόσχημα τὴν τέχνην . . . πεποιημένον.

47. καὶ introduces an explanation of the way in which N. had done mischief to the state. It is not necessary to complete the sense. παρ' ὧμῶν implies negotiations, proceeding from Athens.

48. διοικοῦντα—καὶ πρωτανεύοντα (9 § 60; 15 § 3), 'managing and directing in the interests of Philip.' Isocr. 4 § 121 (of the Persian king) οὗν δ' ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ διοικῶν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων . . . οὐ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κύριος ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπρωτεύετο; Harnport. πρωτανεύοντα . . . ὡς

τοῦ διοικοῦντα Δημ. ἐν Φιλιππηκοῖς. Hence Cobet (*V.L.* 327) contends that διοικοῦντα was absent from the MS used by Harpocr., *adscriptum in margine διοικοῦντα vitio receptum caligo facto kai addiderunt* (*MC.* 30). The juxtaposition of almost synonymous terms is, however, characteristic of Dem. *πρωτανέοντα* is possibly a metaphor from the 'presiding' tribe (ἡ πρωτανέουσα φυλή) in the Athenian βουλή and ἐκκλησία, but the 'presiding' tribe had now less power than before (*Aristot. Const. Athens* 44 § 2).

49. παρελθὼν (l. 35) εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς = 18 § 173. Cp. 24 § 47 οὐκ εἰς τὴν βουλήν, οὐκ εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰπὼν περὶ τούτων οὐδέν.

50. *ἐνεκα* may be placed either before or (as here) after the Gen. or as in 9 § 54. The forms *ἐνεκεν* and *ἐνεκεν*, very rarely found in our MSS, are not Attic, but Ionic; they do not appear in Attic inscriptions before the end of the 4th cent. B.C. (*Meisterhans Gram.* p. 176²). *ἐνεκα* appears in *Poetic* inscriptions, and often in the MSS of Dem., esp. in S and F, as in S in 1 § 28 παντὸς *ἐνεκα*; 20 §§ 1, 2, 88, 98, 117, 128, 145; 18 § 144; 19 § 223; 21 § 228; 23 §§ 137, 182; 24 §§ 58, 180, 213, 218 (*Voemel Proleg.* p. 136). In many passages the use of *ἐνεκα* prevents the accumulation of more than two short syllables, and accordingly, in the text of 'Dem.' as edited by Blass, *ἐνεκα* is printed about 110 times, and *ἐνεκα* only about 70.

§ 7 l. 51. οὐκέτ' ἐν τούτοις κτλ., 'I shall not here, as in the former case (l. 43), find fault with the advocates of N.'

53. οὐδὲ εἰς γὰρ ἦν, 'for there was not even one' to speak on his side. The simplest sense is:—*neque enim ullus propter se ipsum defendit* (*Voemel*, ed. 1829). It is supposed, however, to imply that the people in general were on his side, and any speaking on his behalf was unnecessary (so EMüller). It is taken (by Rosenberg, and by Abbott and Matheson) as = καὶ γὰρ οὐχ εἰς ἦν, ἀλλὰ πλείους, in which case it would simply be an explanation of the plural τοῖς λέγοντας, but οὐδὲ εἰς must surely mean *ne unus quidem* rather than *non unus*, which is οὐχ εἰς (cp. *Voemel* l.c.). αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς: more emphatic than ὑμᾶς αὐτούς.

54. ἐν Διονύσιον: 19 § 249; Aesch. 2 § 61, 3 § 52; Lycurgus §§ 135, 137; sc. *ἱερῶ* = ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. τραγῳδοῖς, 'tragic actors,' used instead of τραγωδῖαν or τραγωδῶν ἀγῶνα. So Aesch. 3 § 36 τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγωδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, 41 γιγνομένων τῶν . . . τραγωδῶν, 154 μελλόντων . . . τῶν τραγωδῶν γίγνεσθαι. ἰδεῖσθε: corresponding *in tense* to ἦν, and implying that the act of seeing the per-

formances in the theatre, like that of hearing the debate, was *going on* in past time. In the apodosis, however, the reception given to Neoptolemus and Demosthenes respectively is treated as a *single occurrence* in past time, *ήκούσατε*.

56. *οὐτως*, 'you could not have heard him with *such*' (where we should say '*more*') 'partiality.' *πρὸς χάριν*, contrasted with *πρὸς ἀπείθειαν*, like *πρὸς χάριν* and *πρὸς ἐχθραν* in 8 § 1, where (as often) *λέγειν* is found, and not *ἀκούειν* (as here).

§ 8 l. 58. *ἡσθῆσθαι*, *ὅτι*—*οἴχεται* (66), 'you have now discovered that (although he then made his journey to the enemy on the pretence of getting in the debts there due to him and thus defraying his public charges at Athens, and although he dwelt mainly on the argument that it was a shame to reproach men who transferred their resources from Macedonia to Athens, yet), as soon as ever he gained immunity owing to the making of the peace, he converted into money all his real estate at Athens, and has carried it off to Philip.' What the audience 'now perceives' is not the plea on which N. went to Macedonia, or his pretended loyalty to Athens, but the fact that, notwithstanding that plea and that pretended loyalty, he has actually carried off all his property to the land of the enemy. Hence the common reading, *ἐποίησατο*, must be wrong, although it has been defended (by Westermann) as ironically used. *ἐποίησατο* was apparently substituted for *ποιησάμενος* owing to a desire to find a verb for *ὅτι* at the earliest possible opportunity. *ὅτι* . . . *ἐποίησατο* in its turn led to *νῦν ἀπαντας ἡσθῆσθαι*, which is appropriate to *ὅτι* . . . *οἴχεται*, giving place in certain MSS to *γυγνώσκειν*, which is better suited to *ὅτι* . . . *ἐποίησατο* κτλ.

59. *τὴν τὸν* *ἀφιξιν*: Adverb with Article used for Adj. with Substantive (Kriiger § 50, 8, 4=8) as in 6 § 27 *ἡ παραντίχ' ἡδονή*, 6 § 21 *αἱ λίαν ὁμιλῖαι*, Lysias 6 § 35 *παραχῆς τῆς τότε*, Dem. Ep. 3 § 39 *βουλόμενος τὴν οἰκαδὲ μοι ἀφιξιν γενέσθαι* (ib. 1 § 2). These last are the only other passages where Dem. uses the word, [47] § 68, and [50] § 21 being in spurious speeches.

τὴν τὸν *ἀφιξιν* . . . *ποιησάμενος* = *τότε ἀφικόμενος*. *ποιέσθαι* with a *νοικ* is constantly used in the higher style of Dem. (as in that of Thuc.) as a periphrasis for the corresponding verb. Among the nouns thus used in Thuc. vii are *ἀνοχέρησιν*, *ἐκπλοισιν*, *ἐπιχειρήσιν*, *κατάφρυξιν*, *πέμψιν*, *πλοῦν* (see Marchant's Index to Thuc. ii, vi, and vii). In Dem. 19 § 92 we have *χάριν* and *ὀργὴν ποιέσθαι*, where Shilleto states the rule 'that any verb in Greek may be resolved into the cognate substantive with *ποιέσθαι*.' Cp. Cobet NL. pp. 251 f.

60. *ὑπὲρ τοῦ*: c. Inf., 'with a view to,' 4 § 43; 8 §§ 44, 45. *τάκει χρήματ' ἀφαιδόμενα*: irregular order for *τάκει ὁφ. χρήματα* (hiatus), as in 3 § 33 *τοῖς . . παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν σιτίοις διδομένοις*.

61. *λητουργεῖν*: the form found in inscriptions of the time of Dem. (see note on Dem. *Leptines* p. iii ed. Sandys), and therefore adopted in recent texts instead of *λειτουργεῖν*, the reading of our comparatively modern mss. The form *λη-* is, however, preserved in the early papyrus of Aristotle's *Const.* of *Athens* 27 § 3, 29 § 5, 56 § 3. On the public services known as *λητουργίαι* and including *χορηγίαι*, *τριηραρχίαι*, etc., see *Introd.* to Dem. *Lept.* *τούτῃ τῇ λόγῳ πλείστῃ χρησάμενος*: 20 § 1.

63. *ἐκείθεν ἐνθάδε* correspond in inverse order to *ἐνθάδε* (64) and *πρὸς ἐκείνον* (65). *εὐτοπίας*: Pl. of abstract word, used in concrete sense, as in 19 § 46 and (with *ἀφθονίας*) in 20 § 26. Dem. also has the Pl. of *περιοσία* (3 § 33), *ὀμμία* (6 § 21), *χάρις* (8 § 53), *φιλανθρωπία* (8 § 70), *εὐνοία* (8 § 25), *ἀνάγκη* (2 § 29, 4 §§ 24, 25), etc. (Rehdantz *Index* s.v. *Plural*). *ἐπειδὴ* marks the beginning of the apodosis; 'as soon as the (conclusion of the) peace (346 B.C.) left him free to do as he pleased.'

65. *οὐσίαν φανεράν*, 'real estate.' Harpocr. *ἀφανὴς οὐσία καὶ φανερά*: *ἀφανὴς μὲν ἢ ἐν χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι* ('slaves') *καὶ σκεύεσι, φανερά δὲ ἢ ἐγγειοις*. Cf. *ἀφανίζειν* applied to persons who turned their property into money for the purpose of secreting it, Aeschin. 1 § 101 *φοβηθεὶς τὰς λητουργίας κτλ.* (See also Hager in *Journal of Philology* vi 21.)

66. *ἀπάγων quid?* *Ἀν τὴν φανεράν οὐσίαν?* *Absurdum hoc quidem est*, says Cobet (*MC.* 459), who proposes *ἀπὼν* instead; but *ἀπάγων* may well refer to the ready money he obtained *τὴν οὐσίαν φανεράν ἐξαργυρίσας*. *ἀπάγειν* is applied to the payment of tribute (e.g. Thuc. v 53 § 1, Aristoph. *Ach.* 643), but is oftener used of the summary arrest of persons. It is possibly this fact *inter alia* that led Cobet to suspect that the word was corrupt.

§ 9 l. 66. *ὧν*: partitive Gen. = *ἐκ τούτων ἃ*.

67. *μαρτυρεῖ κτλ.*: (these two incidents) 'bear witness in favour of the speeches I have delivered, that they (i.e. the incidents) have been rightly and justly disclosed by me in accordance with the truth.' Xen. *Cyrop.* viii 8, 1 and 27 *τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶν εὐρήσει αὐτὰ μαρτυροῦντα τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις*.

68. ἀποφανθέν(τα): dependent on μαρτυρεῖ, as in Soph. *Ant.* 995 ἔχω πεπονθὼς μαρτυρεῖν ὄντισίμα (Weil). The Participle is used in indirect discourse with verbs meaning to *show, to appear, to prove*, etc. (Goodwin *MT.* § 904; Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 482, 2). Thus several Participles are found with ἐπιδείξω in 29 § 5, and with ὁμολογηκώς in 27 § 16.

It is perhaps simpler, however, to take ἀποφανθέντα as a 'circumstantial' Participle, not dependent on μαρτυρεῖ, but denoting the *cause or ground* of the latter (Goodwin *MT.* § 828):—'bear witness in favour of my speeches, in that (or because) they, etc.'

69. τρίτον is virtually an Acc. after φανήσομαι . . . προσιπών (l. 81). It is sometimes taken, however, with εἰπών, after removing the parenthesis: *tertio autem et unico hoc dido* (Voemel). The parenthesis resembles that of § 15 καὶ μοι μὴ κτλ.

70. καὶ δὲ, 'at once,' 2 § 13; 4 § 13.

71. τοὺς ἄρκους—πρίστεις: the second embassy, charged with the duty of receiving Philip's sworn acceptance of the peace. Dem. himself was a member of both embassies (hence ἤκομεν). The ambassadors reported the result of their mission in July 346 (19 § 58). Philip was then advancing towards Thermopylae, and the Athenians, instead of defending the pass and thus protecting their Phocian allies from invasion, allowed their suspicions of Philip to be allayed by Aeschines (19 § 20), with the result that, a few days later, Thermopylae was surrendered, and the Phocians overthrown.

§ 10 l. 72. Θεσπιάς—οἰκισθήσεσθαι: Plataea and Thespieae had been destroyed by the Thebans in 372 (Xen. *Hell.* vi 3, 1; Grote c. 77). The restoration of these towns would make southern Boeotia independent of Thebes. 73. τινων: e.g. Aeschines (and Philocrates); to name them would have been 'unparliamentary' (note on 2 § 31 l. 290); 19 § 112 οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἔφη Θεσπιάς καὶ Πλαταιάς αὐτὸν τευχεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φωκίας οὐκ ἀπολεῖν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων ὄβριν καταλύσειν, and 19 § 21 Θεσπιάς καὶ Πλαταιάς οἰκισμέναις. Cp. 6 § 30.

74. Φωκίας: the Phocians were then in the last stage of the Sacred War (356–346) with the Thebans, who had recently invoked the aid of Philip. The preservation of the Phocians would protect Attica on the North. ἂν γένηται κύριος: 19 § 321 ἂν δὲ γένηται τῶν πραγμάτων κύριος καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τόχῃ (of Philip).

76. διακυεῖν: break up the city and disperse its population into villages: ἀπὲρ τοῦ διαιρήσειν, ὥστε μὴ ἐν ταύτῃ

πάντας οἰκεῖν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς καὶ κατὰ μέρος (Harpocr.). 19 § 325 Θηβαῖοι . . οἱ διοικισθέντες ὑπ' Ἀλκίμου τῷ λόγῳ. The fate that Aeschines prophesied for the Thebans, really befell the Phocians, who were διωκισμένοι κατὰ κόμας (19 § 81; cp. Diodorus 16 § 60).

Ἠρωπὸν: a maritime town on the borders of Boeotia and Attica, which had been taken from Athens by the Thebans in 411, had been recovered about 387, and retaken by Themison of Eretria and handed over to Thebes in 366 (18 § 99, Aesch. 3 § 85). In 353 Sparta had promised to aid Athens to recover Oropus (κομισσασθαι τὸν Ἠρωπὸν, 16 § 11), and Dem. had urged the renunciation of that hope, rather than see Sparta regain her former ascendancy.

ὑμῖν ὑπάρξεν: 19 § 22 (Aeschines) παρεδήλου τὸν Ἠρωπὸν.

77. Εἰδοίαν: 19 § 22 (Aeschines says) ὑμεῖς μὲν Ἀμφίπολιν δέδωκατ' ἐκεῖνω, Φίλιππος δ' ὑμῖν Εἰδοίαν ὡμολόγηκε παραδῶσειν, ib. § 326 and 6 § 30. Amphipolis had belonged to Philip since 357. ἀποδοθῆσθαι, 'would be given back,' used of restoration of property to the person to whom it originally belonged or is legally due. Cp. [7] § 6, etc.

In the whole of this passage (ll. 72-77) the places and persons concerned in the promises of Aeschines are put in a prominent position, at the head of the successive clauses, and these are arranged in the most natural order. In such a case an Isocrates might have preferred to say: Θεσπιάς μὲν οἰκισθῆσθαι, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων πόλιν διοικισθῆσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας σώσειν, τὴν δ' Εἰδοίαν ἀποδῶσειν. But this would have involved an undue subordination of the sense to the sound (Rehdantz-Blass).

78. Διπλᾶς καὶ φανακισμούς, 'hopes and delusions,' in the sense of 'delusive hopes'; Acc. dependent on the general sense of ὑποσχονόμενον. The same delusions are described as ταῦταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ ταῖς ἐπαγωγαῖς (19 § 322), where ἐπαγωγαῖς (S etc.) is supported against ὑπαγωγαῖς (vulgo) by ἐπαχθέντες (inducti), the reading of S alone, in the present passage. Cp. also 6 § 29 φανακισμένην τὴν πόλιν (of the same events), and 6 § 31 ὑπᾶχθητε (which supports the common reading ἐπαχθέντες).

79. οὕτε συμφόρως οὐτ' ἴσως καλῶς, 'in a way that was neither expedient nor, perhaps, honourable.' συμφόρως is not found elsewhere in Dem., who has συμφερόντως in 19 § 246, 21 § 9, and Ep. 3 § 10. ἴσως is apologetic, as in 18 § 17 ἀναγκαῖον καὶ προσήκον ἴσως (cp. 6 § 4). καλῶς: those who (like Franke and Voemel) prefer οὕτε καλῶς, point out that the three Adverbs correspond to τὸ συμφέρον, τὸ δίκαιον, and τὸ

καλόν (οὔτε καλῶς is also preferred by Spengel *Δημηγ.* 33 (83)). A milder form of reproach is conveyed by οὐτ' ἴσως καλῶς.

80. προεῖσθε : l. 3, 6 § 29. οὐδέν : cognate Acc. with ἐξαπατήσας, as in 8 §§ 62 f. δσα . . ἐξηπάτησεν and πῶς ἐξηπάτησθε, 8 § 9 ταῦτα ἐξελέγχονται, 8 § 10 τ. πεισθήτε, 8 § 55 ἀναγκαστῶ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, 9 § 25 δ τι ἡδικοῦμεθα.

81. φανήσομαι : sc. ἂν σκοπῇτε (14 § 24) or ἂν τις σκοπῇ (18 § 317). προειπὼν κτλ. : see 6 § 29.

82. οἷς' ὅτι, 'certainly,' 6 § 29, 9 § 1. οὐτ' οἶδα ὅτι προσδοκῶ : 19 § 45.

§ 11 ll. 85 f. φαίνομαι . . προσῶν : Goodwin *MT.* §§ 904, 914⁵.

86. οἷς' εἰς μίαν : stronger than εἰς οὐδεμίαν.

87. δεινότητα . . ἀλαζονείαν, 'cleverness (sagacity) or (any other cause for) boasting.' Similarly φιλοτιμία is used in 2 §§ 3, 16 of the *object* of ambition, i.e. 'glory' (Weil). Or ἐπανόλωσ may be 'used by zeugma with ἀλαζονεία, to which it is not strictly appropriate, the sentence being equivalent to εἰς οὐδεμίαν δεινότητα ἀλαζονεύμενος ἐπανόλωσ' (Abbott and Matheson, and similarly Westermann).

89. δὲ ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω δέο : the transition from the general (δ ἂν) to the particular (δέο) is peculiar, and makes it almost necessary to pause slightly before δέο.

90. εὐτυχίαν : 4 § 12; 2 § 22; 8 § 69.

§ 12 l. 92. ἕτερον δέ : to correspond to διὰ in the previous clause, ὅτι is here added in all mss except S; but the direct statement is more vigorous. πρῶτα : in contrast with Neoptolemus and Aeschines etc. Similarly Pericles claims to be χρημάτων κρείσσω (Thuc. ii 60 § 5).

93. κρίνω καὶ λογίζομαι : on the collocation of verbs synonymous (or nearly so) in sense cp. 4 § 3. οὐδέν κτλ. : sc. οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι οὐδέν λήμμα προσσηρημένον ('attached,' προσκεκολλημένον Schol.) πρὸς τοῦτοις δ ἐγὼ πεπολιτνεῖν καὶ λέγω ('my political acts and speeches').

95. ὁρθόν (Thuc. ii 61) here leads up to the simile of the balance, and is echoed subsequently by ὁρθῶς (100). 'That which is expedient therefore presents itself to me in its undeflected and evenly-balanced form (or 'my judgment as to what is expedient is therefore correct'), just as it arises out of the circumstances themselves.' In English we should probably resort to another metaphor, and use the term 'unbiased.' Thus Bacon, in his *Essay on Wisdom* for a man's self, writes

of 'false and corrupt servants, which set a *bias* upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their masters' great and important affairs.' Cp. p. viii.

97. ἐπὶ θάτερ(α), 'into one side or the other,' as into either pan of a pair of scales. The notion seems to be that the interests of Athens are in one of the scales and the politician's judgment in the other; if a bribe is thrown into the latter, it pulls down the judgment with it. The simile of the balance recurs in 18 § 298 οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε τοιτοῖσι, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἂν τρυάνῃ βέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λήμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστάς, πάντα ταῦθ' ὕγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. When Zeus weighs the fates of the Trojans and Achaeans in his golden scales (*Il.* viii 69), the fate of the Achaeans turns the scale (*βέπω*); cp. *xii* 210, Virgil *Aen.* xii 725; Milton *P.L.* iv 997 f.

98. ὥσπερ εἰς τρυάνῃν is omitted by Badham in *Menaeus* iii (1875) 210: 'Verba προσρηγμένον, ὀρθόν, προσενέγκει, οἷεται φέρον προϊδέναι καὶ ὁριζόμενον de trutina cogitare credamus, neque vero, si cui καθέλκεται eo spectare videtur, illi assentior. Nam ut pondus in trutina recte diazari ducunt, nequaquam tamen καθέλκει quod oppositum est, notum ip' αὐτῷ. Hoc dicit: quemadmodum nihil ὀρθόν stare potest cui ab utrovis pondus suspenderis, sic nemo τὸν λογισμὸν ὀρθόν habere potest, cuius mentem a recto iudicio pecuniae momentum inclinat. Itaque delectantur ὥσπερ εἰς τρυάνῃν. But the orator does not mean that the bribe drags down what is in the opposite scale; it drags down what is in the same scale, viz. the orator's judgment.

99. φέρον: sc. τὸ ἀργύριον. καθέλκεται κτλ., 'at once pulls the judgment down with it'; Aristoph. *Frogs* 1398.

§ 13 l. 102. ὑπάρχειν = ὑποκείσθαι (14 § 3). Cp. [13] § 36 ὑμᾶς οὖν ὑπάρξαι δεῖ χρηστὰ βουλευμένους. - φημὶ δεῖν: see note on 4 § 16.

103. ὅπως . . ποιήσει: the usual *Ind. Fut.* with ὅπως in *object clauses*, after verbs signifying to *care for*, etc. (Goodwin *MT.* § 339; see note on 1 § 2). Such a sense is implied in ὑπάρχειν φημὶ δεῖν, which is equivalent to δεῖ σκέψασθαι; so in l. 111 ὅρᾶν ὅπως μὴ. Otherwise, we might place a colon before ὅπως and make the construction elliptical, as in 8 § 38, understanding 'take care that' (so Rehdantz). συμμάχους: a reference to a possible alliance with Sparta (§ 16).

σύνταξιν, (an increased) 'contribution' of money on the part of the allies; a term adopted at Athens under the second naval confederacy instead of the obnoxious φόρος, or 'tribute,' of the first confederacy. The σύνταξις amounted at this time to 45 talents (18 § 234).

108. εἶχε . . καιρόν: sc. ἡ εἰρήνη, 'the peace would more

opportunistically have never been made,' i.e. 'it would have been more appropriate if the peace had never, etc.'; Plut. *Mor.* 763 B δ τάλιν ἐν ἀρχῇ καιρὸν εἶχε ῥηθῆναι μᾶλλον (Thuc. i 42 § 3 καιρὸν ἔχουσα), Plato *Crat.* 401 C ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐσία ἔστι καλεῖσθαι ἔχει λόγον. The Nom., implied in the personal construction, appears in γενημένη (§). The Acc. found in some MSS may have arisen from εἶχε καιρὸν being taken impersonally, like φύειν ἔχει with Acc. and Inf. in Plato *Rep.* 473 A, 489 E.

109. ἄν ὑπαρχόντων = ἃ ὅτε ὑπῆρχεν ἡμῖν, referring to the time when Athens had it still in her power to occupy Thermopylae (§ 10). The Gen. Abs. is sometimes taken as = ἃ εἰ ὑπῆρχεν (Westermann), thus making τότε and νῦν mean 'in that case' and 'in the present case,' instead of 'then' and 'now.'

§ 14 l. 111. ὁρᾶν : sc. φημι δεῖν (102). ὅπως μή : c. Fut. Ind. after ὁρᾶν (cp. 103).

112. προαζόμεθα : § 23 προηγμένον.

113. φάσκοντες—εἶναι : cp. 9 § 32. Dem. does not admit the legality of an Amphictyonic assembly to which the Athenians had not been invited, and from which the Spartans and Phocians were excluded, while the place of the Phocians had been given to a king of Macedonia. 19 § 327 οἱ μὲν οὖτοι Ἀμφικτύονες φεύγουσι καὶ ἐξεληλάνται καὶ ἀνάστατοι αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα γέγονεν, οἱ δ' οὐδεπώποτ' ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ γενόμενοι, Μακεδόνες καὶ βάρβαροι, νῦν Ἀμφικτύονες εἶναι βιάσονται. Diodorus xvi 60.

114. εἶναι is followed by a slight pause which prevents hiatus before εἰς. There is a comma in § (followed by Blass). ἀνάγκη καὶ πρόφασιν, either 'a pretended necessity' for ; or perhaps 'the necessity or (at least) the pretext' for, καὶ being sometimes used, for ἡ (*Classical Review* xii 339). Cp. § 17 κοινὴν πρόφασιν. κοινού = Ἀμφικτυονικοῦ : 18 § 143 πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, λίσχιν, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν, and § 147.

116. Ἀμφίπολιν : see note on 4 § 12.

117. ἔγκλημ(α) : 1 § 7. μή with conditional relative clause, Goodwin *MT.* § 520. 118. οὐκ ἂν . . . οἴομαι . . . πολεμήσαι, ib. § 220, 1. 119. οὐδένας (40).

§ 15 l. 120. καὶ μοι μὴ θορυβῆση κτλ. : [13] § 3 καὶ μὴ θορυβήσητε . . . ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες κρίνατε, Plato *Apol.* 20 E καὶ μοι ὦ ἄν. Ἄθ. μὴ θορυβήσητε. The orator appeals to the audience for a patient hearing because he is on the point of

giving the Thebans credit for having no desire to oppose Athens. *πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι*, 'before he hears.' *πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃ*, 'until he hears,' would suggest the wrong idea, implying that the orator wanted an uproar to be raised as soon as he had had his hearing. Goodwin *MT.* § 628.

121. οὐχ ὧς, 'not that they are kindly disposed to us or would not gratify Philip.'

123. ἀναισθητους, 'stupid.' 18 § 43 ἀναισθητοὶ Θηβαῖοι, 6 § 19 σκαϊότητα τρόπων (of the Thebans).

'Demosthenes' disparaging references to Theban ἀναισθησία and ἀναληγσία are not so numerous as they are sometimes supposed to be. Indeed the noun ἀναισθησία appears not to be used at all by Dem. in connexion with the Thebans, while the adj. ἀναισθητός is thus used twice only. In the *De Pace* the orator makes use of the expression without perhaps actually adopting it himself, and in the *De Corona* (§ 43) he uses it in a fit of indignation which procures for the Thessalians even a worse designation. In the *Second Philippic* (6 § 19) σκαϊότης τρόπων (a turn for blundering, a native *gaucherie*) is attributed to the Thebans and to those of the Peloponnesians whom Dem. at the time in question thought equally misguided; and in the *De Corona* (§ 35) we have the words τῆς ἀναληγσίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν Θηβαίων, but quoted apparently from Aeschines (W. Rhys Roberts *The Ancient Boeotians* pp. 5 f.). Cp. 14 § 38; 20 § 109.

125. αὐτοὶ emphatic, referring back to αὐτοῖς, also at end of clause in previous line.

126. ἐφεδρεύων, 'waiting for.' 8 § 42 οὐκ οὖν βούλεται τοῖς αὐτοῦ καιροῖς τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἐφεδρεύειν (= [10] § 14). Thuc. iv 71, viii 92; Polybius iii 90, 2 (Fabius Maximus) ἐφῆδρευε τοῖς τόποις καὶ καιροῖς, v 34, 8 ἐφῆδρευον τοῖς . . πράγμασι, iii 12, 6 ἐφῆδρουν . . τῶν καιρῶν. ἐφεδρεύειν and ἐφεδρεία are also used of 'reserves' in Diodorus xvii 11 and 12 (Downes). ἐφεδρος is the technical term for the athlete who draws a bye, and accordingly waits on one side, ready to contend against the winner. Aeschylus *Cho.* 866 τοιάνδε πάλην μόνος ὦν ἐφεδρος δισσοῖς μέλλει θεῖος Ὀρέστης ἄψιν. In Aristoph. *Καπὰς* 792 Sophocles proposes ἐφεδρος καθεδεῖσθαι, while Aeschylus contends with Euripides, and to encounter Euripides if the latter should prove the winner. (Cp. Pindar *Nem.* iv 96, Soph. *Ajax* 610, Xen. *Anab.* ii 5, 10.) ἕτερος: Philip, who bides his time, not necessarily to fight the winner, but to seize the spoils, and thus claim the prize. οὐκ οὖν πρόειν' ἂν—τοῦτο, 'therefore they would not throw themselves into it, sacrifice themselves upon it (viz. going to war with Athens).' The form of the Aor. Opt. Mid. of προῖναι is προῖναι in Xen. *Anab.* i 9, 10 and Plato *Gorg.* 520; προῖναι (Blas; v.l. προῖναι) in Dem. 18 § 254 and 21 § 212; and προῖναι in 6 § 8. Chandler *Gk. Accentuation* § 820 regards

πρώμαι, πρόηται (19 § 118) as unquestionably wrong for πρώμαι, προήται. Illass prints πρόηθε in 8 § 49, but προήθε in 2 §§ 213, 220; 36 § 58; 55 § 35, *Erp.* 3 § 31. Compound verbs in *μ*, as a general rule, retain the accent of the simple verb; but in the Second Aor. Subj. Mid. they throw back the accent, except in the case of the Second Aor. Subj. of *ἔμμι*, which retains the accent of the simple verb. In the Aor. *Opt.* Mid. of *ἔμμι* the mss vary and the rule is uncertain.

§ 16 l. 128. οὐδέ γ(ε): § 20; 19 § 184.

129. Ὠρωπὸν: § 10 l. 76.

130. οὐδὲν ἂν . . παθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι: l. 118.

131. τοὺς βοηθοῦντας, 'our auxiliaries' = *εἰ τινες βοηθοῖεν*. Cp. 24 § 143 πολλοὺς . . εὐρήσατε . . τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας ὑμᾶς, Isocr. 8 § 139 πολλοὺς ἔχομεν τοὺς . . συναγωνιζομένους ἡμῖν. Sometimes the *Fut.* Part. is preferred, as in 4 § 49.

132. εἶμαι followed by (1) ἂν βοηθεῖν and (2) οὐ συνεπιστρατεύσειν. *Illud dubitanter, hoc certo dicitur* (Voemel). (1) is indirect for βοηθοῖεν ἂν τις (Goodwin *MT.* § 205). εἰ τις ἐμβάλοι: for the position of *εἰ*, after the emphatic word and before the verb, see note on 4 § 29 τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται.

133. οὐδετέροις: Pl. referring to *either* of the plural peoples ἡμῖν or ἐκείνοις. Similarly οὐδένας (119) and ἐτέρους (140). καὶ γάρ . . καὶ (135): *nam et . . et*, 3 §§ 15, 33; 4 § 40; Thuc. i 77 § 1.

134. τοῦτον and τοιοῦτον (135) both refer to the sequel, like ἐκεῖνα (198) and τοσοῦτον (4 § 13). ἂν καὶ φροντίσειεν ἂν τις: *quae quidem quis curaverit*, 'so far as they are really worthy of regard'; limiting the general term αἱ συμμαχίαι. Thuc. i 15 § 2 κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, δθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο, οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη (with Classon's n.).

MZink in *Fos* 1855 (2) pp. 185 f. supposes that this clause ought to mean that alliances are formed only for the sake of personal interests. Accordingly he alters καὶ into ἀντί, and assumes a gap of one line before the clause; but there seems to be no real difficulty in the text.

§ 17 l. 136. οὐκ κτλ.: asyndeton, in explanation of τοιοῦτον ἐστίν. ἄχρι τῆς ἰσῆς, 'to an equal degree'; 14 § 6 ἀπ' ἰσῆς; Thuc. i 15 § 2 and iii 40 § 6 ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσῆς, and i 27 § 1 ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσῇ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ. No particular subst. need be understood.

'Sic potius existimandum videtur Graecos a notionibus simplicibus progressos maximeque obvis, quae sunt situs viae et directionis, hinc similitudinem traduxisse ad actionum humanarum directiones et motus (Lobeck *Paralip.* 363).

137. *ὥς τ' εἶναι* (8 § 10): sc. *ἐκατέρους*. The Inf. depends on *εἶνους ἔστιν* (= *δε' εὐνοίαν βούλεται*), as in Plato *Rep.* 608 A *εἶνοι ἐδόμεθα φανῆναι αὐτὴν (τὴν πόλιν) ὡς βελτίστην*, and Thuc. ii 11 § 2 *εὐνοίαν ἔχουσα* . . *πράξει*. τε and καί after *ἴσης*, as in 14 § 6 after *ἀπ' ἴσης*, and 15 § 10 after *ὁμοίως*.

139 f. *τοῖς ἐτέροις*: subject of *ὑπάρχειν δεσπότας*.

140. *αὐτῶν*: 'quoniam *δεσπότας* sine additamento positum sufficit, et, quia ob rem illam rem institui velit, satis indicat, opinor propter τοὺς ἐτέροις esse interpolatum αὐτῶν' (Rosenberg *Curse Demosthenicas* 8).

140 f. *τί οὖν κτλ.*: this is the first rhetorical question in a studiously moderate and dispassionate speech. It serves to lead up to a clear and emphatic statement of the orator's main point.

141. *τί φυλάσσειν δεῖν*: see end of § 23.

142. (*δεῖν φυλάσσειν*) *ὅπως μὴ* . . *λάβῃ*, '(we must take care) that the coming war (with Philip) does not find a common plea and a common grievance for all.' *ὅπως μὴ* c. Subj. as in 6 § 25 *οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως μὴ* . . *εὐρήνῃ*. Oftener with Fut. Ind., as in *Prooem.* 52 *ὅπως μὴ πείσεσθε* . . *φυλάττεσθαι*. *μὴ* alone (the reading of §) is regularly found with Subj. after *φυλάττεσθαι* as in Thuc. iv 11 § 4.

Cobet *MC.* 460:—'Apud Demosthenem ὅπως et ὅπως μὴ cum futuro componitur, et post verba *metuenti* aut μὴ cum *coniunctivo* aut ὅπως μὴ cum futuro construitur.' In the parallel to this passage in 6 § 25 Cobet accordingly alters *εὐρήνῃ* into *εὐρήσεσθε* (*MC.* 31). See, however, note on 1 § 21. 19.

κοινήν and *κοινόν*: repeated for emphasis. *ἑγκλημα* . . *πρὸς ἀπαντας* (an expansion of *κοινόν*), 'in relation to all,' i.e. between ourselves and all the rest. On *πρὸς* see 1 § 7.

§ 18 l. 144. *Ἀργεῖοι—Πελοποννησίων*: Epaminondas had left behind him in the Peloponnesus an independent *Messene* and a new city *Megalopolis*. These communities were under the protection of Thebes; and, as soon as Thebes was hard pressed in the Phocian war, Sparta proposed a general restoration of ancient rights with a view to recovering Messenia and breaking up Megalopolis (353 B.C.; *Dem. Or.* 16). Athens, which had been asked to aid Megalopolis, stood aloof in the war that was now waged by Sparta against Messenia, Megalopolis and Argos. 145. *τινές*: e.g. the Sicyonians. Diodorus xvi 34, 39; ASchaefer *Dem. u. s. Z.* i 519².

146. *φρονούσι*: of political sentiments, as in 9 § 56 *φρ. τὰ Φιλίππου* and 9 § 18; also 14 § 34, and Thuc. iii 68 § 3. *πρὸς Δακεδαίμονιους*: the details are not known.

147. ἡμῖν, 'on our part' (Krüger 48, 12) may be taken with ἐπιτηρυκέλειαν and understood again with ἐχθρῶς σχήσουσι (Weil). It is however regarded (by Rehdantz and Blass) as really belonging to the latter phrase, which occupies a corresponding position in the rhythmically parallel clause

διὰ τὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν
ἐπιτηρυκέλειαν ἐχθρῶς σχήσουσι(ν).

ἐπιτηρυκέλειαν: Harpocr. τὸ περὶ φύλλας καὶ διαλλαγῶν κήρυκας πέμψειν. σχήσουσι: 1 § 9 σχήσειν. This Future of ἔχω implies *inception*, whereas ἔξω implies *duration*; and the distinction holds good not only here but also in 18 § 45 τὰ ταυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν εἰταν βούλωνται (unless Weil's conjecture α' ἂν is accepted).

148. καὶ (διὰ) τὸ δοκεῖν: the omission of the Prep. prevents υυυυ, but more than two short syllables are allowed when included in an Art. and Prep. (see note on l. 12 μετὰ τὰ πρᾶγματα).

ἐκδέχεσθαι: here = ἀποδέχεσθαι, 'approve,' as in 19 § 37 ἐκδέχεται τὴν αἰτίαν (so Jacobs). In 18 § 21, 19 § 321, it means 'take up,' 'continue on one's own account' (so Reiske and Voemel here). A doubt as to its meaning in the text is implied by Harpocr. s.v. ἐκδεξιμένος (18 § 21): ἐκδέξασθαι ἐστὶ τὸ παρ' ἑτέρου λαβόντα αὐτὸν ἐγχειρεῖν τὸ δεύτερον. ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ πῶς ἔχει τὸ ἐν τῷ ε' Φιλιππικῷ λεχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥήτορος "καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκδέξασθαι (sic) τῶν ἐκείναις (sic) πεπραγμένων." ἐκείνοις: 1 § 28 p. 155. The Peloponnesians, in Reiske's view: better understood of the Spartans. 'On account of our negotiations with Sparta, and the belief that we are supporting their previous policy' (Abbott and Matheson).

149. λέγουσιν, 'people say.' Dem. aimed at uniting Thebes and Athens against Philip. 150. ἐχθρότερος: Comparative of Adv. with ending of Positive, for ἐχθρότερον. Kühner-Blass *Gr.* i § 158 n. 1 p. 577. It is probably not found elsewhere.

151. τοὺς φεύγοντας: the inhabitants of Thespieae and Plataea, which had been destroyed by Thebes (§ 10), and of Orophomenus and Coroneia (19 § 141) which had been abandoned to her vengeance by Philip (§ 22). σφύζομαι, 'harbour.'

§ 19 l. 153. τοὺς Φωκίων φυγάδας σφύζομεν: 18 § 80 Φωκίων τῶν ἐκπεπνυκότων, Aesch. 2 § 142 Βοιωτῶν καὶ Φωκίων οἱ φεύγοντες. The ancient feud between the Phocians and Thessalians is mentioned ib. § 140. The Amphictyons had recently decreed:—τοὺς πεφευγότες τῶν Φωκίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετασχόντων

τῆς ἱεροσουλᾶς ἐναγείς εἶναι καὶ ἀγωγίμους πάντοθεν (Diodorus xvi 60).

154. καλύομεν: by sending no representatives to the meeting.

155. φοβοῦμαι μὴ . . ἀγάγωσι: Goodwin *MT.* § 365.

156. ἕκαστος in apposition to πάντες, breaking up the Pl. into its component parts. 9 § 29 περιορώμεν . . . ἕκαστος, 24 § 157 πολλῶν . . . ἕκαστος. κοινὸν . . τὸν πόλεμον: the predicate Adj. and the corresponding Subst. are both placed in emphatic positions. ἐφ' ἡμᾶς—πόλεμον: Aeschin. 3 § 140 τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐπήγε διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας.

158. προστησάμενοι, 'making a pretext of,' 'sheltering themselves behind': 24 § 28; cp. προβάλλεσθαι (4 § 40); 9 § 8 προβάλλει. εἰτ(α): 1 § 12.

159. [ἡμῖν παλεμήσαι]: these words are not wanted after ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγάγωσι τὸν πόλεμον and they cannot be understood with περὶ Φωκίας. With the latter we need only understand ἐπεσπάσθησαν πέρα τοῦ συμφέροντος ἑαυτοῖς. Downes proposes κοινὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγάγωσι τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ Φωκίας, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων δόγματα προστησάμενοι.

§ 20 ll. 161 f. οὐχὶ ταῦθ' and ταῦτά: both in emphatic position. ταῦτά—ἔπραξαν: i.e. annihilated the Phocians.

163. οἷον introduces a series of illustrations of the statement that the Thebans, Philip and the Thessalians had not exactly the same views. παρελθεῖν: 6 § 30; 18 § 35 παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἰς Πυλῶν.

164. τὰς παρόδους: § 22, the pass, and the positions guarding the pass, of Thermopylae, which was the only means of access for an army marching from Thessaly into Phocia. 9 § 32 τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνας παρόδων. Strabo 655 τὴν μὲν οὖν πάροδον Πύλας καλοῦσι καὶ στενὰ καὶ Θερμοπύλας. The pass is not a defile, but a narrow ledge between the mountains and the sea.

165. οὐδέ γε: § 16.

αὐτοῖς: l. 148 ἐκείνοις.

166. ὕστατον ἐλθόντα: placed between τῶν πεπονημένων and τὴν δόξαν, the 'toil' and the 'reward.' The reward was by no means so easily won as the text implies, for while the Thebans were fighting, Philip had not been idle, but he inflicted the last blow and secured all the spoils of conquest (Westermann).

§ 21 l. 167. χώραν: the Boeotian towns, which had been occupied by the Phocians (§ 22).

168. *πέπρακται* in two senses (1) something *has been done* for the Thebans; (2) they have *sared* (wretchedly).

169. *ἀν* separated by *δοκεῖ* from <πλέον> εἶναι. Cp. l. 118. A negative with *πλέον* and some tense of εἶναι or γίγνεσθαι (almost always with and hardly ever without the Dat.) is found in 13 § 36 οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πλέον ἔσται; 20 §§ 7, 103; 24 § 209; 25 § 217; 32 §§ 17, 18; [35] § 31; 36 § 59; 47 § 1; 55 § 6; *Proem.* 2 § 2; and *Ep.* 3 § 41 (all the exx. in Dem.).

170. *δοκεῖ* refers to *δόξαν* (166). *ἡβούλοντο*: followed by *εβούλετο* (174 and 178), *ἡβούλοντο* (182) and *ἡβούλετο* (189). So in 21 §§ 90 f. *εβούλετο* and *ἡβουλήθη*. These are the readings of the mss and the orator may have been led by reasons of rhythm to prefer one form at one time, and another at another. In the first 31 Speeches S has *εβ.* 41 times, and *ἡβ.* only 18 (*Voemel Proleg.* p. 82).

171. *τῷ*: causative, l. 3. 'Ορχομενὸν — Κορώνειαν (175): occupied by the Phocians in the Sacred War and handed over by Philip to the vengeance of Thebes. 19 §§ 141, 148, 325.

§ 22 l. 173. Φοῖβον: anticipative Acc., placed in emphatic position, like *Θηβαίους* (167) and *Θετταί* (181). *δήπων*: ironical.

176. *ἡναγκάσθη*: 6 § 14 *εβιάσθη*. Dem. might have adopted the view that Philip had found himself 'compelled' to hand over Orchomenus and Coroneia to Thebes. It would have been in accordance with his statement that in war every one is apt to be carried beyond his immediate object. But, by adopting this view, he would have virtually agreed with his opponents that Philip was at heart ill disposed to Thebes (cp. 4 § 48; 6 § 14). He therefore quotes this view only to reject it (Rehdantz-Blass). *ἐπρωσθαι*: *valere*. A polite formula for deprecating agreement with the persons concerned. 'I wish them joy of their opinion' (Kennedy). 18 § 152; 19 § 248; 21 § 39; Plato *Phaedrus* 272 E πολλὰ εἰπόντα χαίρειν τῷ ἀληθεῖ.

177. οὐ μᾶλλον, 'no more,' i.e. 'not so much,' or 'less'; a form of *litotes*; 16 § 10; Thuc. vii 69.

178. *τὴν δόξαν*: sc. *λαβεῖν*.

179. τὸ δοκεῖν (τὸν πόλεμον) κτλ. in apposition to *τὴν δόξαν*, as in 22 § 74 τοὺς δ' ἀναθέντας δόξαν οὐ μικρὰν ἀφῆρτηται, τὸ δοκεῖν ὡς ἂν εὖ πάθωσ' ἐθέλειν μεμνησθαι. The reading of the mss τοῦ δοκεῖν is illustrated by 14 § 1 τοῦ δοκεῖν δύνασθαι λέγειν δόξαν, but in the text it seems harsh to have an explanatory Gen. immediately after another Gen. δι' αὐτῶν, ἑαυτῶν

to his own interposition.'

180. *δι' αὐτοῦ*, 'by his own agency.' *κρίσιν ἐληφέναι*, 'had been determined,' 'decided': Thuc. i 23 § 1 (the Persian war) *ταχέϊαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχε*. Cp. *λαμβάνειν ἐπίδοσιν* in 9 § 47.

180. *τὰ Πύθια θέναι* (parallel to *λαβεῖν*): to preside at, and have the direction of, the Pythian games, as *ἀγωνοθέτης* (9 § 32). The Amphictyons decreed: *τιθέναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων Φιλίππων μετὰ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θετταλῶν* (Diodorus xvi 60).

181. *ἐγγίγχετο* (186): 6 § 11 *γλίσχονται*, 18 § 207 *γλίχεται*, 16 § 226 *γλιχομένοις* (all the passages in Dem.).

§ 23 l. 184. *ἐφ' αὐτοῦς*: contrary to their interests, 6 § 33. *ἡγοῦντο*: sc. *εἶναι*. *τῆς πυλαίας*: sc. *συνόδου*: Gen. after κύριοι. The Amphictyonic meeting was begun in the Autumn and Spring at the temple of Demeter at Anthela near Thermopylae, and was concluded at Delphi. Hypericles *Funerat. Oration* § 18 *ἀφαιρούμενοι . . οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπαντες δις τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν πυλαίαν κτλ.* (Cp. Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* i 481¹, 685², and Gilbert *Gr. St. Alt.* ii 412.) The Phocians had excluded the Thessalians from the Amphictyonic assembly; they were themselves excluded by Philip, who restored the Thessalians. 6 § 22; 8 § 65.

185. *τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς*: the Delphic temple and its treasures, the control of which would pass from the Phocians to the Thessalians.

186. *δυοῖν*: here combined with Pl. *πλειονεκτημάτων*, as with *ὀνομάτων* (23 § 36), *ποισιν* (39 § 32), *παιδιῶν* (57 § 42), *φιαλῶν* (49 § 64). These passages refute Elmsley's opinion that *δυοῖν* in Attic Greek was always combined with the Dual. Cp. Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 368, 1a. *τούτων*: the advantages just mentioned.

187. *τάδε*: the destruction of the Phocians.

188. *προηγμένον* refers back to (112) *προαξόμεθ(α)*, at the beginning of the main argument. Similarly, in 2 § 7, *ἐξαπατῶν* . . *ἡτέθη* sums up an argument beginning with *παραινούμενος μέγας ἡτέθη* (2 § 5), and in [7] § 8 *δικάσσεσθε* echoes *διαδικάσασθαι* — in [7] § 7. The constr. is *προηγμένον πράξει πολλά ὧν οὐδὲν ἡσούλετο (πράξει)*.

189. *τοῦτο μόντοι τοῦτ(ε)*: Acc. The word is repeated (*ἐπαναδίπλωσις*) as in 2 § 10 *ὡ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐκ ἔστιν*, and 3 § 33 *ἴσως*, 8 § 28 *μικρόν*, 9 § 36 *ἦν*. Cp. Procm. 29 § 3 *τοῦτο δὴ τοῦτ(ε) μοι πάλιν δοκεῖτε πείσασθαι*, where the Oxyrhynchus papyrus in pp. 55 f. has *ταῦτ(ε) δὴ τοῦτο* (confirmed by *πάλιν*). The latter supports an alternative conjecture in the text—

ταῦτό μέντοι τοῦτο(ο). αὐτό μέντοι τοῦτο may also be suggested. μέντοι, 'however,' is less natural than τοίνυν, 'therefore,' in summing up an argument. μέντοι here connects the conclusion closely with the immediately previous clause.

190. φυλακτέον refers back to § 17 τί φυλάσσειν φημι δεῖν (141). Cp. Isocr. 6 § 94 ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα φυλακτέον, 12 § 24 ἡ φυλακτέον ἡμῖν ἐστίν and 15 § 18; also Hegesippus [7] § 6 τοῦτο δ' ἡμῖν οὐ ποιητέον ἐστίν. In the genuine speeches of Dem. there are 22 certain examples of the impersonal use of the verbal Adj., e.g. 22 § 57 ἡ φυλακτέον ὑμῖν, and only 6 of the personal, e.g. 36 § 30 τοῖς δὲ . . ταῦτ' ἐστὶ φυλακτέα (Karlowa Progr. 1883, p. 13).

§ 24 l. 191. τὰ κελεύμενα(α) . . ποιεῖν, 'to do as we are bidden'; 18 §§ 202, 204; Isocr. 6 §§ 39, 94; like τὰ προσταττόμενα ποιεῖν in Isocr. 6 § 7; 8 §§ 56, 70, 94. The orator places in the mouth of his opponents the hateful term of political subjection: 'must we then really do as we are bidden, for fear of the consequences? Is this what even you bid us do?' Instead of plainly answering γε, he says 'far from it'; but his reply is a diplomatic equivalent to an affirmative: his advice implies 'we must recognise facts which we cannot alter' (Rehdantz).

192. καὶ σέ: even you, heretofore the resolute adviser of opposition to Philip and the Amphictyons. ταῦτα (τὰ ποιεῖν τὰ κελεύμενα) Pl., because all the details of such submission are implied; cp. 2 §§ 3, 25; 6 § 12; 8 §§ 8, 20, 62; 9 §§ 8, 42. πολλοὶ γε καὶ δέω: a favourite formula with Dem. for an emphatic reply in the negative, esp. in answer to an imaginary question. Additional emphasis is given by the καὶ. Cp. 20 § 58, and (with the impersonal δεῖ) 9 § 19; 14 § 38; 18 §§ 47, 52, 300, 308; 20 § 106. The personal form occurs in 20 § 76 δέω σου λέγειν. Cp. Aesch. P.V. 969, 1014. For the general type of expression cp. Sallust Cat. 51 Placet igitur (dps) eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinae? Minime; sed illa censeo.

193. ὥς οὕτε πράξομεν κτλ.: lit. 'how we are to do nothing unworthy of ourselves, and how we are not to go to war, but to prove to all men that we have sense and plead what is just,—this I think (is what) we must do'; i.e. 'our policy must be such as will be worthy of ourselves and will not involve us in war, but will prove our good sense and our justice to all the world.' ὥς is relative (and not final); this is proved by οὕτε, final ὥς being followed by μήτε. 195. τοῦτο(ο) sums up the preceding clauses and is the counterpart of ὡς πράξομεν οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν is expressed in a positive

form in τὰ δίκαια λέγειν (δόξομεν), while οὐτ' ἔσται πόλεμος is similarly echoed in νοῦν δόξομεν πᾶσιν ἔχειν (in inverted order). (196) The reading δὲν ποιεῖν (S) is confirmed by τὰ κελυφόμενα) . . . δὲν ποιεῖν (Weil). πράξομεν (193) and ποιεῖν (196), here (as in § 2; 9 §§ 5, 15, 17) occur in the same sentence; the former implies the pursuit of a *policy*, the latter appears to be a more colourless word for 'doing' in general. See also note on 4 § 5.

196. πρὸς, 'in reply to.' For the general sense cp. 14 § 8 τοῖς δὲ θρασυνομένοις καὶ σφόδρ' ἐτοίμως πολεμεῖν κελεύουσιν, ἐκείνο λέγω. 'In reply to those who rashly think that we must not brook anything and who do not foresee the (risk of) war, I would urge the following considerations.' πρὸς has sometimes been understood adverbially, 'besides.'

<οὐδ' > ὅτιοῦν . . . ὑπομέναι, 'must not brook anything,' 'must not submit to any insults.' Without the negative ὅτιοῦν ὑπομέναι is inconsistent with θρασύως ολομένους, — 'est enim nova et inaudita θρασύτης, si quis ὅτιοῦν ὑπομένειν quodlibet ferre ei παλὶ putat oportere' (Cobet *MC.* 461). But ὑπομέναι is not quite so limited in meaning. It is often used of 'standing one's ground in the face of danger,' as in Thuc. vii 42 § 4 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπομέναι ἀν σφᾶς οὐδένα, Andoc. i 20 ὁ πείρας ὑπομέναι καὶ μὴ ἀχέσθαι φεύγοντα (ECMarchant *Class. Rev.* iv 267). Even in this sense, however, ὅτιοῦν ὑπομέναι, without the negative, would have to mean 'expose themselves to all perils,' but this is inconsistent with μὴ προσωμένους τὸν πόλεμον. It is only in actual war that ὅτιοῦν ὑπομέναι is appropriate: cp. 15 § 8 καὶ πολεμεῖν . . . καὶ πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ὁλοθε χρῆναι, and 6 § 11 παθεῖν ὅτιοῦν ὑπομείναντας. Hence the negative is necessary.

199. Ὠρωπόν: § 16.

201. φαίμεν: the ordinary Attic form, found here only in Dem. φαίμεν is retained in Eur. *Ion* 943 and [Plato] *Alc. II* 139 b. φαίρε is found, but not φαίρε. φαίρεσθαι is preserved in Thuc. viii 53 § 3, but φαίεν (though only used by Dem. in 38 § 18) is much more common. Cp. Kühner-Blass i ii f. 214, 1 p. 70, and Rutherford's *New Phrynichus* 451 ff.

§ 25 l. 201. κατὰ συνθήκας, 'by treaty,' like κατὰ συγγραφὴν (18 § 122) 'according to contract'; κατὰ νόμον (22 § 5; 44 § 64) 'according to law.' The orator is doubtless thinking of the actual treaty (τὰς συνθήκας); but, according to the best mss, does not actually mention it. Peace had already been concluded on the basis of the *status quo*; accordingly, Philip retained *Amphipolis* (Westermann).

202. Ἀμφιπόλιος παρακεχωρήκαμεν: for the Gen. cp. note on 3 § 36.

203. Καρδιανοίς: the inhabitants of Cardia, a town at the north-east extremity of the Thracian Chersonesus. Owing to its position on the isthmus, it was regarded as the key of the peninsula (23 § 182). Originally founded by Miletus and Clazomenae, it had received Athenian colonists in the time of Miltiades. But it had held aloof from Athens in 357 and 353, when Chares secured for her the Hellespont. Accordingly, it had not been included among the towns ceded to Athens by Cersobleptes (23 § 181). It was claimed by Athens, but her claim was resisted by Philip, and it was as an ally of Philip that Cardia took the oath to observe the peace of 346 (19 § 174). Her independence of Athens was thus admitted. Philip afterwards offered to submit to arbitration his disputes with Athens as to her claim to Cardia ([7] §§ 39-44). Cp. 8 §§ 58, 66; Thirlwall c. 45 (vi 21); Grote c. 90 (viii 182). ἔξω . . τετάχθαι, 'to be placed (or stationed) outside'; a metaphor from a military position (τάξις, 3 § 36). So, of joining the ranks of an alliance, πρὸς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ταχθῆναι Thuc. iii 86 § 2.

204. τὸν Κᾶρα: a contemptuous reference to Idrieus, satrap of Caria, brother and successor of Mausolus and Artemisia. Mausolus had espoused the cause of Chios and Rhodes in their revolt from Athens in the Social War (15 § 3). Cos had also joined in the revolt. At the close of the war (355 B.C.) Rhodes was held by a Carian garrison; Mausolus died in 353 (or 351) and was succeeded by Artemisia. In her reign the Rhodians appealed to Athens to expel the oligarchical party from their island and to restore the democracy. Their appeal was supported by Dem. (Or. 15), but was not successful. The text shows that Rhodes was still under Carian rule, and that Cos and Chios were in the same position.

205. Βυζαντίους: the result of the Social War had been to declare Byzantium (as well as Chios, Cos and Rhodes) independent of Athens.

206. κατάγειν τὰ πλοῖα, 'to detain our vessels,' i.e. to compel the cornships bound from the Euxine to Athens to enter the port of Byzantium instead. Harpocr. ἀπὸ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι καὶ κακοῦν καὶ μὴ εἶναι τοὺς πλείοντας ὅποι βοῦλονται πλεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ οἰκία χωρῖα τοῖς ληστεύουσιν κατάγειν (8 §§ 9, 28; 20 § 77 of 20 triremes captured by Conon εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους λιμένας κατήγαγεν, [50] § 6 Βυζαντίων . . καταγάτω τὰ πλοῖα ἐνεκα τῆς ἰδίας χρείας τοῦ εἶναι, Lycurg. 6). ἔλθον ἐκ.

'evidently,' *cp. οἷδ' ὅτι* (§ 10). *τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡσυχίαν*, 'the tranquillity which results from the present peace.'

208. *προσκρούειν* (like *προσκόπτειν*), 'to come into collision with, to give offence, to be at variance, to strive,' 18 § 161 *προσκρούειν ἀλλήλους. φιλονικεῖν*, 'to contend.' *Cp.* 1. 19 n.

209. *εὐθές*, 'silly,' 'foolish,' a well-known euphemism. [*Plato Alc. II* 140 c *οἱ ἐν εὐφημοτάτοις ὀνόμασι βουλόμενοι κατονομάζουσιν τοὺς ἄφρονας καλοῦσιν εὐθέεις*, 1 § 15; 2 § 6; 9 §§ 10, 47, 51, 73. *κομῶδη*: 1 § 22 bis. *σχετλίον*, 'outrageous,' often coupled with *δεινόν* (19 §§ 128, 146, 226; 20 § 156; 21 §§ 61, 104; [35] § 47; 41 § 91); found by itself in 24 § 31; in 21 § 135 *τὸ δὴ σχετλιώτατον* is followed by *μέγιστον* . . *ὕβρεως* . . *σημείον*.

210. *καθ' ἑν(α)*, 'singly,' 9 § 35; (also with *Gen.* = *ἐκαστον* in 9 § 22, 2 § 24). *προσεννηγεμένους*, 'having dealt with,' 'behaved towards' (8 § 64, 9 § 24), agrees with the unexpressed subject of *πολεμήσαι*.

211. *τῶν οἰκείων*: Oropus and Amphipolis. *τῶν ἀναγκαιωτάτων*: our command of the sea and of the import of corn (206); *cp.* 20 § 31.

212. *πάντας*: *opp. ἐκάστους*, an argument *a fortiori*. *τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιάς*: a striking adaptation of the popular proverb *μάχεσθαι περὶ θνόν σκιάς* (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 191 and fragm. 238, *Plato Phaedrus* 260 c). Harpocr. *Διδυμός φησι τὴν περὶ θνόν σκιάς παροιμίαν παραποιεῖσθαι* ('adapted') *ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥήτορος λέγοντος περὶ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιάς λέγεσθαι δ' αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν μηδεὸς ἀξίω μαχομένοις*. *Cp.* Libanius *Arg. περὶ μικροῦ τηλικούτου κινδύνου ἀρασθαι*. To account for the proverb the Scholia on Aristoph. and Plato (as well as Zonobius vi 28, Photius, Macarius vii 8, vi 37, and Apostolius xii 92) quote a story which probably originated in some of the farces of Megara, but which they ascribe to a speech of Dem. One of the forms of the story begins thus: *ἐμσθώσατο τις θνόν ἀπὼν εἰς Δελφοῦς* (*Proverb. Appendix Vatic.* iii 20, and Suidas; and similarly 'Diogenianus', iii 43 and Apostolius xvii 69); where 'Delphi' is probably due to a misunderstanding of the text. (The story may be found in my *First Greek Reader and Writer* p. 45.) *περὶ . . σκιάς . . πολεμήσαι* may also be illustrated by Xen. *Mem.* i 6, 6 (Socrates asks) *ἤδη οὖν ποτε ἦσθου ἐμέ . . διὰ θάλπος μαχομένον τῷ περὶ σκιάς*; where *σκιάς*, however, is 'shade' and not 'shadow.'

By 'the shadow at Delphi' the orator apparently means either (1) the Amphictyonic Assembly itself, regarded as an

antiquated institution destitute of any real influence in the politics of Greece; so Thirlwall c. 43 (v 264) 'It was long since the name of the Amphictyonic Council had been connected with any important events: but it still retained its existence as a venerable shadow'; or (2) the empty and unsubstantial honour of being a member of that Assembly. The Assembly still retained a certain sanctity due to its old associations, and participation in its privileges was welcomed by Philip as a means of giving an air of legality to his ambitious enterprises. The question whether Philip should be a member of the Council, and should preside over the Pythian Games, was at the moment apparently unimportant; but it was really fraught with consequences ultimately disastrous to Athens. *Sedem in Amphictyonum consessu umbram appellat, rem contentione non dignam, quum ab eo tenenda esset, qui iam ante tantam potentiam conscutus fuisset* (Seager).—On a day at Delphi in April 1886, when it was impossible to find in the recesses of the rocks any shelter from the blazing sun, the almost complete absence of shade made one vividly conscious what a thing of nought was ἡ ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιά in the literal sense of the term (*Easter Vacation in Greece* p. 74); but, in the text, σκιά is clearly 'shadow,' as opposed to substance; not 'shade,' as opposed to sunlight.

πολεμῆσαι: 'to go to war,' the 'ingressive' Aorist. Hardly any speech of Dem. has so impressive and striking a conclusion. Here we have no calm words of good omen, no prayer for a prosperous issue for the counsels of Athens, as in the *Third Olynthiac*. Instead of this we have a brief and incisive phrase recalling the smart and witty style of a Demades rather than the grave and sober manner of a Demosthenes. But the argument, as a whole, is fully worthy of the great orator. It is also characteristic of him in point of form, with its sharply contrasted antithesis expressed in almost perfect symmetry of rhythmical correspondence.

{ οὐκ οὖν εὐθὺς
{ καὶ κομῶν σχήλιον,
{ πρὸς ἐκείνους
{ καὶ ἐν οὕτω

{ προσενηνεγμένους
{ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων
{ καὶ ἀναγκασιότατον,
{ πρὸς πάντας περὶ τῆς
{ ἐν Δελφοῖς σκίας
{ νυκτὶ πολεμῆσαι.

NOTES ON THE SECOND PHILIPPIC (OR. VI)

The Exordium (§§ 1-5), like that of Or. 5, is but slightly connected with the speech itself; and the promise of practical advice which it implies is not actually fulfilled in the sequel. Possibly (as suggested by Weil) the presence of representatives of foreign powers would make any disclosure of the details of prospective action undesirable. Probably the orator's only object in raising the expectations of the audience is to arrest their attention at the outset of his speech.

§§ 1, 2. The sense of these sections is condensed into a single paragraph in 9 § 1.

§ 1 l. 1. *ὅταν*, 'whenever,' appropriately followed by *ἂν* (3). *λόγοι γίνονται*, 'speeches are made,' *γίνεσθαι* corresponding to the Passive of *ποιεῖσθαι*. *λόγοι* . . *λόγους* (3) . . *λέγειν* (5) . . : here (as often) Dem. dwells on the idleness of mere words unattended by deeds. *λόγοι* is contrasted with *πράττει*, and *λέγειν* with *γυγνόμενον* (= *πραττόμενον*).

2. *περὶ (τούτων δ) —πράττει καὶ βιάζεται κτλ.* : 'concerning Philip's general policy and his aggressive acts in violation of the peace.' Here the relative governed by the verb is used instead of the corresponding noun, as in § 26 l. 207, 19 § 238 and 45 §§ 27, 68; and the generic term *πράττει* is followed by the specific *βιάζεται*, as in 8 §§ 13, 43, where *πράττεται* and *πραγματεύεται* respectively are followed by *κατασκευάζεται*. The second verb serves to give definition and precision to the first: 'the policy, the aggressive policy of Philip'; and the phrase, as a whole, is practically equivalent to *πράττει βιάζομενος*.

The sense is weakened, if, with Franke, we understand *πράττειν* with *βιάζεται*, *quae facit et vim addit* (sc. *ut faciat*) *contra pacem* : i.e. *quae facit et quae facere conatur*. He quotes 21 § 11 λαμβανόντων ἡ βιαζομένων (sc. λαμβάνειν), § 40 μὴ εἶναι ταῦτ' αὐτὸν λέγειν, μηδ', ἂν βιάσθαι. πείθεσθε ὡς δικαίῳ τι λέγοντι, § 205 τὴν ἐχθρὰν ἢ . . . φησὶν εἶναι καὶ βιάσθαι οὐκ ὀρθῶς, and 25 § 27 τὸν παρὰ τοῖς νόμοις λέγειν ἢ πράττειν τι βιαζόμενον. The verbs are regarded as contrasted with one another by Abbott and Matheson: 'whether he employs negotiations or force.' For the latter cp. [7] § 32 εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος (of Philip). But if a contrast had been intended, it would probably have been expressed by ἢ πράττει Φ. ἢ βιάζεται.

4. φιλανθρώπου, not 'philanthropic' or 'humane,' but 'sympathetic,' 'generous' towards the Greek states whose independence was imperilled by Philip (l. 12). φαινομένους: 'manifestly (just and generous)'; (5) δοκούντας: *deemed* (by public opinion). τὰ δέοντα (λέγεσθαι) = ἃ δεῖ (λέγειν).

7. ὡς ἔπος εἰπὼν: not used in Greek, like *ut ita dicam*, to apologise for a strong metaphor but to modify a general statement, implying that it is not to be taken too strictly; hence often used with οὐδέν (as here) or with πᾶς (9 § 47). See note on Dem. *Lept.* § 140 (ed. Sandys). τῶν δεινῶν (γίγνεσθαι): cp. l. 5. ὧν (= τούτων ὧν) εἵνεκα (5 § 6 l. 50).

§ 2 l. 8. εἰς τοῦτο(ς), *without* Gen., followed here by προηγμένα . . . πάντα τὰ πράγματα, as by ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ πρ. in 9 § 1, τὰ πρ. ἀφίκεται in 9 § 2 and περιστήσεται τὰ πρ. in 3 § 9.

11. ἐξέλεγχῃ, followed by participle παραβαίνοντα. See note on 4 § 37 οἱ αὖτ' οὖσαι . . . ἐξελέχονται, and Goodwin *MT.* § 883.

14. With ὥστ(ε) . . . χαλεπότερον we may supply *εἶναι*, or *εἶναι* (with many MSS), or *ὄν* (with Madvig). This last is supported by 3 § 1 ὥστε . . . δέω.

§ 3 l. 15. πλεονεκτεῖν: opposed to ἴσον *εἶχειν* in Isocr. l. § 33.

16. ἔργῃ καὶ πράξειν: see 8 § 73.

17. δέον: 3 § 18; cp. ἐξόν in § 11 and 3 §§ 9, 27. Goodwin *MT.* § 851. οἱ παριόντες (εἰπὶ τὸ βῆμα): see note on l. § 8 and cp. 8 § 29; 9 § 1, etc.

18. τούτων refers to the acts implied in ἔργῃ καλοῦσιν καὶ πράξειν, and is further explained by καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν (ταῦτα), 'we shrink from these duties (shrink, I say) from moving and advising (such a course of vigorous action)', = ἀφίσταμεν καὶ τοῦ γράφειν καὶ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν ταῦτα. For the Gen. followed by the explanatory Inf. cp. Thuc. iii 6 § 2 τῆς θαλάσσης ἔργον μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς Μυτιληναίοις (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 600 p. 1081).

19. τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ὀκνοῦντες: Thuc. vi 80 § 6 τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐχθραν διαφυγεῖν, Isocr. 8 § 38 κατασιωπήσω, δέισας τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν, Dem. 18 § 36. On πρὸς with Acc. of either the subject or object, with words of accusing, hating, or the opposite, see note on 1 § 7 l. 57 ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλημάτων.

20. οἷα ποιεῖ δ(ε), ὥς δεινὰ κτλ., 'while we recount the kind of things which he does, (and) how shocking they are, and so forth.'

δε is placed as in 8 § 9 δεινὰ ποιοῖσι δ' οἱ ξένοι. οἷα ποιεῖ may also be taken as the subject to ὥς δεινὰ, in which case the comma between them would be omitted:— 'we recount how shocking are the kind of things he does, and so forth' (so Westermann). With ὥς δεινὰ . . διεξέρχόμεθα cp. 18 § 41 τὰ Θηβαίων . . πάθη . . διεξιὼν ὥς οἰκτρὰ and Prooem. 23² ὥς αἰσχρὰ καὶ δεινὰ, λέγει. καὶ τοιαῦτα: cp. 8 §§ 22; 35.

21. ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, 'you of the assembly,' 8 § 30.

ὥς μὲν ἂν εἰποῖτε, *quomodo dicatis*, 'so far as regards speaking.' 'As to means by which you could make just speeches . . , you are better equipped than Philip; but, as to steps by which you could prevent him from doing what he does, you are wholly inactive.' ὥς is here *relative*, and the Opt. with ἂν is *potential*, ἂν going closely not with ὥς but with εἰποῖτε, as below with κωλύσαντ(ε), and similarly in § 37 l. 287. Had the sense been *final* ('in order that'), ὥς ἂν would have gone closely together and would have been followed by the Subj. The latter construction is not found in any of the Attic Orators or in Plato and (except in Xenophon) is very rare in Greek Prose. Cp. Goodwin *MT*. § 329, 2, and p. 398.

23. ἀμεινον παρσκευάσθαι: Plato *Gorg.* 448 D καλῶς . . παρσκευάσθαι εἰς λόγους.

24. ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν ἴσται νῦν, 'with which he is now concerned, occupied, busily engaged'; 'his present designs' (K). *Prooem.* 1 § 2 ἐπὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὄντες.

25. ἀργῶς ἔχετε, 'are idle, inactive, unpractical.' ἀργῶς recurs in 8 § 42.

§ 4 l. 25. συμβαίνει κτλ.: 'the result is (I suppose) inevitable and perhaps just.' εἰκός is here 'reasonable,' 'fair' and 'equitable,' as in Thuc. v 90 τὰ εἰκότα καὶ δίκαια; not 'probable,' as in Aristot. *Poet.*, where it is *contrasted* with ἀναγκάιον in 9 § 1 and 15 § 6; and with ἐξ ἀνάγκης in 10 § 3, συμβαίνειν ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰκός. The objection to *making it mean* 'probable' in the text is that we should have

to transpose the words to avoid an anticlimax. If the words were so transposed, we might translate them 'natural and perhaps even necessary'; but the order ἀναγκαῖον . . . καὶ ὥς ἐκός is sufficiently defended by 18 § 17 ἐστὶ δ' ἀναγκαῖον καὶ προσήκον ὥς.

26. ἐν οἷς: asyndeton as in 5 § 17 l. 135. 'Both of you (you and Philip) succeed better in those things in which you respectively spend your time and about which you are in earnest.' Cp. Eur. *Antiope*, fragm. 183 λαμπρὸς θ' ἕκαστος κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιέγεται, νέμων τὸ πλείστον ἡμέρας τοῦτω μέρος, ἐν' αὐτοῖς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει κράτιστος ὢν. These lines, originally referring to the twin sons of Antiope, the active huntsman Zethus and the meditative musician Amphion, may well be applied to their counterpart in the present passage, the restless and energetic king of Macedonia and the eloquent and unpractical Athenians.

27. διατρέβετε — σπουδάζετε: phrases almost synonymous with one another are here, as often, placed in effective juxtaposition.

28. πρῶτος . . . δεύτερος: the two are taken up in inverse order, δεύτερος (29) coming first. The natural sequence of thought is thus preserved.

30. ῥᾶδιον is expanded in the following clause.

§ 5 ll. 31-35. εἰ δέ (4) — δυνησόμεθα, 'but, if we are bound to take measures for correcting the present evils, for preventing their insensible progress, and (for preventing) the rise of a mighty power which we shall not even be able to confront.' ὅπως, with Ind. Fut. in object clause after σκοπεῖν, as in 9 §§ 29, 51, 63, 69, 75. See note on 1 § 2, and Goodwin *MT.* § 339. ἐπαυροῦσθαι: a favourite verb with Dem. The Passive recurs in 9 § 76 ἐπαυροῦσθῆναι τὰ πράγματα, the Middle is found in 1 § 11 and 9 § 4, etc.

32. προελθόν(α): 3 § 3 εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθεν μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα, inf. § 33 τὸ πρᾶγμ' ὁρᾷ προβαῖνον. The Aor. Participle here coincides in time with the Future of λανθάνω (Goodwin *MT.* end of § 144).

33. πορρωτέρω: 23 § 203 τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἤδη καὶ πορρωτέρω βαδίζει. ἐπιστήσεται: 18 § 176 τὸν ἐφεσθηκῶτα κινδυνὸν τῇ πόλει.

34. ἀντάραι: 2 § 24; Plato *Euthyd.* 272 A (μάχη), ὥστε μῆδ' ἂν ἐναυτοῖς οἷόν τ' εἶναι μῆδ' ἀντάραι.

The text (32-35) is imitated by Libanius iv 350 ὥς λέγει: τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο πορρωτέρω προελθόν, καὶ δύναμις ἐπιστήσεται ταῖς πόλεσι, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἀπαιχτὴν δυνασμέμεθα, and by Dionysius ii 380 (Ant. Rom. vi 50).

σκοπὸν ὅπως διὰ ταχέων παύσεται (ἢ σπάσει) καὶ μὴ προσελθούσα ἐνι παρρωτέρῳ λήσσει. πάνθ' ἡμᾶς is omitted by both, and is possibly rightly rejected by Blau.

35. ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος, sc. ἐστίν. (37) τὰ σώζοντα, 'salutary counsels.' προαιερίον: on verbal Adjectives in Dem. cp. 5 § 23 l. 190.

§ 6 l. 42. φέρειν, 'brings with it,' 'is fraught with.'

43. ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, 'against you,' as in l. 259; cp. 5 § 23 ἐφ' αὐτούς. Isocr. refers to this opinion in the 'Speech' addressed to Philip in 346 B.C., 5 § 73 περὶ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως λέγουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ αὐξάνεται καὶ σὺ πολλὸν χρόνον ἤδη πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύεις.

44. πάντων ὁμοίως, 'all alike,' whether you agree with me or not.

45. τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαι μου διὰ βραχέων, 'to hear from me in brief the reasons'; i.e. 'to hear me briefly state the reasons.' διὰ βραχέων, lit. 'by means of a few words,' not 'in a short time.' Here it is slightly elliptical, and we may understand λέγοντος or λεγόμενου, just as in *Prooem.* 19 *et . . . ὑπομείναι* ἀκοῦσαι ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρω διὰ βραχέων, we may understand μου λέγοντος or ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγόμενα. A similar ellipse is implied in Virg. *Aen.* ii 11 *et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem*, where *me narrantem* may be understood. So also *paucis*, normally used with a verb of speaking in *Aen.* iv 116 *paucis (adverte) docebo*, is elliptically used in Ter. *And.* iii 3, 4 *ausculla paucis* (sc. *me loquentem*). In Dem. διὰ βραχέων is invariably used of the speaker and not of the audience, being found with *εἰπεῖν* 23 § 64; 29 § 25; [43] § 73; *δεῖξαι* 20 § 16; *διδάξαι* 44 § 60; *ἐπιμνησθῆναι* 20 § 75; and *ἐξετάσαι* 23 § 144 and 25 § 8 (these are all the exx. in Dem.). Similarly the corresponding superlative διὰ βραχυτάτων is found with *εἰπεῖν* etc. in 45 § 2; *Prooem.* 4 and 6; *διηγήσομαι* 37 § 3; 54 § 2; *ἐπιδείξω* 27 § 12; [43] § 18; *πατήσομαι τοὺς λόγους* 27 § 3; and *συμβουλεύειν Prooem.* 17. Hence in the text διὰ βραχέων does not go with ἀκοῦσαι, but with an unexpressed Participle implied in the context. This explanation suits the parallel passage in *Prooem.* 19 better than Weil's suggestion that διὰ βραχέων goes with λογισμοῦς.

45 f. δι' οὗς, *quas ob rationes*; (46) δι' ὧν, *quibus rationibus commotus*. Cp. 5 § 22 δι' αὐτῶν and δι' αὐτοῦ, and Lys. 12 § 87 διὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πληθους (of direct agency) and διὰ . . . Ἐρατοσθένην (of indirect agency). Here the distinction in meaning is slight, and the difference in the cases is probably due to a love

ἔασθαι, as in 19 § 223 οὐκ ἀνταλλακτέον τὴν φιλοτιμίαν οὐδενὸς κέρδους.

77. τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων: 2 § 24.

79. τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐνοίαν: Antiphon 5 § 76 τὴν εὐνοίαν . . τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς. ἀκότως: 'naturally.'

80. περὶ, followed for variety by κατὰ c. Gen., both in the same general sense.

81. ὡς ἑτέρως (opp. to οὕτως): 18 §§ 85, 212, 306; best explained as an old Dat. of τὸ ἕτερον used as an Adverb (see note on 4 § 27 ὡς ἄλλῳ). Other explanations are summarised in Franke's note.

§ 11 l. 83. εὗρεσκε, 'finds it recorded'; ἀκούει, 'hears it reported'; *comperit legens in annalibus et accipit ab hominum fama* (Reiske). See note on 4 § 24 ἀκούω.

84. ἔξόν: 2 § 24; 3 § 9 bis; cp. δέον § 3.

85. ὥστε, 'on condition that' (Goodwin *MT.* § 587²). 21 § 3 πολλὰ μὲν χρήματ' ἔξόν μοι λαβεῖν ὥστε μὴ κατηγορεῖν, οὐ λαβών, 18 §§ 67, 81, 103. βασιλεῖ: 4 § 48 l. 436.

87. Ἀλέξανδρος: Alexander, the son of Amyntas, sent to Athens by Mardonius shortly before the battle of Plataea, to tempt her to desert the cause of Greece, 18 § 202; Herod. viii 14. Introd. to *First Philippic and Olynthiacs* p. xxxi. τούτων: 'these people,' 'this dynasty.' The orator does not deign to mention Philip, but uses a contemptuous plural instead. It is awkward, however, to have it followed in the same clause by τούτων in the neuter sense, and τούτου πρόγονος should perhaps be preferred.

88. κήρυξ: a less dignified term than πρεσβευτής. τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν: the Athenians left their city for Salamis on two occasions, (1) in 480, before the battle of Salamis (Herod. viii 140), and (2) in 479, before the battle of Plataea (ib. ix 6). The statement in Herod., that Alexander visited Athens shortly before the battle of Plataea, shows that the orator ought to be here referring to the *second* abandonment of Athens; but the sequel (μετὰ ταῦτα πρῶτοντας ταῦτα κτλ.) makes it clear that he was thinking of the battle of Salamis and the *first* abandonment of Athens, thus implying that it was before the battle of Salamis that Alexander visited Athens, which was not the case. The same error occurs in 18 §§ 20-24, and in the *Panegyric* of Isocr. 4 § 94. Dem. was probably misled by Isocrates, who published his *Panegyric* in 380, and is certainly the most prominent of the πάντες mentioned below (90). The Attic orators in general are apt to be inaccurate in matters of history.

This inaccuracy is partly due to an affectation for the avoidance of a pedantic display of historical knowledge (see note on *Lept.* § 11).

91. λέγειν . . εἰπεῖν : here used in different tenses with no apparent difference of sense. Cp. 2 § 4 ; Isocr. 4 §§ 10, 11 ; 12 § 262 ; 15 §§ 140, 272 ; 21 §§ 1, 5 ; Lys. 12 § 99 ; 17 § 1. An orator may be described as δεινὸς λέγειν or (less commonly) εἰπεῖν (see note on *Lept.* § 150) ; as ἐπιστάμενος λέγειν (Isocr. 4 §§ 11, 186), or εἰπεῖν (Isocr. 4 § 10) ; as δυνάμενος λέγειν (Isocr. 9 § 77 ; 15 §§ 246, 296), or εἰπεῖν (Isocr. 4 §§ 11, 74, 170 ; Dem. 3 § 15). Elsewhere the Present λέγειν, implying continuous endeavour, often refers to the purport of a speech, while the Aorist εἰπεῖν, implying result, refers to the language.

92. παραλείψω : as a motive for this omission the orator alleges that none have hitherto been able to deal with the theme in a worthy manner. His real reason is the inappropriateness of any such digression in a deliberative discourse (Schol.). Here (as in 3 § 23) he praises the Athenians of the past solely as an incentive to similar exploits on the part of their descendants, while he cares little for merely idle and aimless eulogy (Rehdantz).

δικαίως is necessarily followed by a justificatory phrase, which cannot be left out. If that phrase is omitted, δικαίως must also go with it:—*vitiose dictum est pro eictōis* (says Cobet *MC.* 461), *et aliena est observatiunculae sedes, quae post eipeῖν dedūgetur utcumque ferri poterat*. But δικαίως stands alone in 18 § 208, followed (as here) by γάρ.

μαίλω . . ἡ ὥς : Antiphon 3 β 2 ἀκριβέστερον ἡ ὥς σύνηθες (έστιν), Xen. *Anab.* i 5, 8 θάρττον ἡ ὥς τις ἀν ψέτο.

95. συστρατεύσαντας τῷ βαρβάρῳ : the Thebans (at Plataea, Herod. ix 67 ; cp. vii 233). οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντας, the Argives (ib. vii 148 f.). Cp. 9 § 12.

§ 12 l. 96. Ἰδία, contrasted with κοινῇ, belongs to τὸ λυσitteλὸν and is placed in an emphatic position before it, instead of after τὸ or before ἀγαπήσοντας, both of these positions involving *hiatus*.

97. ἀγαπήσοντας : with Neuter Obj. in Acc. as in § 19, and in 18 § 109 οὐτε . . τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἡγάγησ' ἀπὲ τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων (cp. δ τι νομισαὶ κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησι).

99. φίλους, contrasted with συνεργούς ('accomplices') ; δικαίως with πλεονέξιας (101). ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίως, 'on just principles' ; 8 § 9.

102. τότε : at the time of concluding peace. When τότε

and *vñv* have a verb in common, the tense is usually Present; 18 § 31; *Proem.* 24 § 4; Thuc. i 86 § 2; vi 60 § 2; Soph. *El.* 907.

102-7. οὐ γὰρ δὴ—εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν: the orator is insisting that Philip's preference for an alliance with Thebes and Argos, rather than with Athens, is caused by a desire to secure accomplices in his selfish schemes of aggression (πλεονεξία), and not by any principles of justice (§ 13), or by any stress of compulsion (§§ 14, 15). He ironically enumerates three other motives showing that Philip's conduct is not determined by any of these:—(1) it is not because Thebes and Argos have a larger navy than Athens; (2) is not because he has discovered some inland empire, and has therefore renounced the coast with its harbours of commerce; (3) it is not because he has already forgotten the promises on the strength of which he was enabled to conclude the 'Peace of Philocrates.'

οὐ γὰρ δὴ, followed by γὰρ, as in 23 § 113 οὐ γὰρ δὴ λόγον γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὕτως πρόχειρον ἔχει, Aeschin. 2 § 166 οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γ' ἀληθείᾳ, and §§ 139, 158; 3 § 212; Thuc. v 111 § 3. In all these passages a touch of irony is added by δὴ. τριήρεις: neither Argos nor Thebes had any navy worthy of the name. Epameinondas had induced the Thebans to equip a fleet against Athens in 364, but with no important results (ASchaefer *Dem. u. s. Z.* ii 117-9; Grote c. 79).

103. οὐδ(έ) negatives both clauses, as οὐ in 9 § 27. ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ, in the interior, like Macedonia itself in earlier times (Introd. to *First Phil. and Olynthiacs* p. xxvii), or like Thebes during the years of her supremacy. εὕρηκεν, not 'acquired' (εὑρηται), but 'discovered,' 'found' (by good fortune); 21 § 196 μεγάλην μέγαν ἀρχήν, μάλλον δὲ τέχνην, εἴητις ἀν' εὐρηκῶς.

104. τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ, 'the land on the sea-coast,' understanding from μεσογείᾳ either χώρας or γῆς, like τὴν οἰκίαν (γῆν) 1 §§ 25, 26. This is perhaps better than understanding ἀρχῆς, and certainly better than rendering the phrase (with Voemel) *maritimum imperium*. Even in irony, Dem. would not have described Philip as renouncing 'the empire of the sea.' He would not have admitted that Philip had ever had a chance of securing that empire. Besides, the mention of 'harbours of commerce' would be an anti-climax after the 'empire of the sea.' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ is not 'over the sea,' but 'on the sea-coast'; this is the meaning of ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ in the only two passages in which Dem. uses the phrases (23 §§ 78, 155); cp. Thuc. vi 2 § 6, vii 4 § 2. The 'empire of the sea' is expressed in Isocr. 5 § 61 and 8 § 101 by τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς θαλάττης.

105. οὐδ' ἀμνημονεῖ κτλ. : 'nor (lastly) is it because he has forgotten' etc.; [7] § 19.

106. λόγους, of 'mere professions,' here coupled with ὑποσχέσεις, as elsewhere with προφάσεις (8 § 13) and φλυαρίαι (20 § 101). The promises had not been made by Philip himself but by his partisans at Athens, § 23, also 5 § 10, 19 § 160 τῶν ὑποσχεσέων ἐφ' αἷς εὐρίσκειτο τὴν εἰρήνην, and ib. 18, 26, 47, 53, 56, 178, 220. Cp. Grote c. 89 (viii 137). One of the promises was the disruption of Thebes.

106. ἐφ' αἷς, 'on' ('subject to') 'which'; not δι' ὧν, 'by means of which.'

§ 13 l. 108. ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί', εἶποι τις ἄν: *at enim*. Cp. § 14 l. 117, and see 4 § 10.

ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδώς, 'pretending to know all this,' best taken with τις, as referring to Aeschines and his pretended knowledge of all Philip's intentions (Grote l.c.; so GiffSchaefer and Relidantz). Aeschines is not named, because the naming of a political opponent in a deliberative speech would have been 'unparliamentary' (note on 2 § 31). εἰδώς is sometimes referred to Philip:—'that he knew all this, yet so he acted' (Kennedy, and similarly Franke, Dindorf, and Heslop), a view which might be supported by οἶδεν ἀμφοτέρους (96). It is best, however, to connect ὡς closely with the participle, and not to regard it as = δι. Cp. 20 § 3.

109. πλεονεξίας (101). ἕνα(α): 5 § 6. ὧν (= τούτων δ) κατηγορῶ, 'the motives which I charge.'

110. τῷ—ἀξιοῦν: causal Dat. of Inf. (5 § 21 l. 171; Goodwin *NT*. § 96); 'because of the Thebans making juster demands than yourselves.' The argument suggested is that Thebes had a *right* to supremacy over Boeotia. In 338 B.C., when Dem. had reconciled Thebes and Athens, the Thebans δικαιοτέρ' ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου (18 § 215).

111 f. καὶ emphasises μόνον (with Gen. as in 3 § 24). For the general sense of τούτων—οὐκ ἔνεστιν—εἰπεῖν cp. 24 § 188 τὸν λόγον ἡγοῦμαι τούτων οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν λέγειν εἶναι τούτῳ.

112. αὐτῷ: Philip, the subject of ἀξιοῦν (111). νῦν, opp. to τότε (110).

113. ὁ γὰρ Μεσσηνὴν—σκήψαιτο; the order of construction is: πῶς γὰρ ὁ Μεσσηνὴν Λακ. ἀφίεται κελεύων σκήψαιτ' ἄν, τότε παραδοὺς Ὀρχομενὸν κτλ. Θεβαλοῖς, (ταῦτα) πεποιηκέναι τῷ νομίξεν ταῦτ' εἶναι δίκαια; 'how could he who (now) calls on Sparta to relinquish Messene, plead that he acted on a conviction of justice, when he lately delivered Orchomenus etc. to the Thebans?' Sparta might fairly claim Messene by the title of nearly four centuries of possession, whereas Thebes had no *real claim* to Orchomenus and Coroneia. Philip who favours

the independence of Messene and thus opposes the 'just' claim of Sparta, cannot plead motives of 'justice' for handing Orchomenus etc. over to Thebes. The same principles ought to apply to both cases; either both should be independent, or both should be subject to their powerful neighbours. Philip's conduct has been inconsistent. In 16 § 25 Dem. warns Athens against the similar inconsistency of abandoning Messene to Sparta in the hope of obtaining Spartan aid for the restoration of Orchomenus, Thespiae, and Plataea in opposition to Thebes.

ἀφίνας καλεῶν: Thuc. i 139 § 1 (ἐκλενον) Ἀγῶναι αὐτόνομον ἀφίνας.

114. τότε, two years previously, on the conclusion of the 'Peace of Philocrates,' in 346. Cp. 5 § 21; 19 §§ 112, 141.

116. σκήψαντο: [33] § 18; [34] §§ 28, 47; found here alone in the public speeches.

§ 14 l. 117. ἄλλ(α) . . νῇ Δεῖα (108). ἐβιάσθη: l. 132 βιασθείς, 5 § 22 ἡναγκάσθη. Philip's partisans are here represented as pleading that he had acted on compulsion in making concessions to Thebes. This plea is repeated in the following year by Aeschines, who similarly refers to Philip's allies in the war with Phocis:—2 §§ 140 f. Ὁθηβαίων παρακαθήμενων καὶ δεομένων . . Θετταλῶν δὲ Θηβαίοις προσθεμένων. (118) τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων, normally 3000 strong (Isocr. 8 § 118), and capable of being increased on emergencies to double that number (Xen. *Hell.* vi 1, 8).

119. ἐν μέσῳ ληφθείς, 'surrounded (or intercepted) by'; 'caught between'; Xen. *Anab.* ii 4, 17 . . ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῆτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διέφυγος.

120. καλῶς, *eslo*; 'excellent!' 'very well' (ironical). 20 §§ 128, 160; 25 § 73; 39 § 14.

121. μᾶλλον κτλ.: Philip's partisans pretend that, although he has found himself 'compelled' to make concessions to Thebes, he is really 'intending to mistrust them.' ὑπόπτως ἔχειν in Active sense, as in 19 § 132 δυσκόλως ἔχειν καὶ ὑπόπτως πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον.

122. λογοποιοῦσιν περιμέντες: 4 §§ 10, 48. Ἐλάτειαν: Elateia is described by Pausanias as 'next to Delphi, the largest city in Phocis' (x 34, 1); and by Strabo as larger than Delphi, and strategically the most important city in Phocis, 'because it stands on the pass, and he who possesses Elateia commands the entrances into Phocis and Boeotia' (p. 418). The military route between Locris and Phocis runs eastward from Thermopylae along the Locrian coast, taking Scarpheia

and Thronium on its way (cp. Livy xxxiii 3). Then, turning inland near the island of Atalante, it sweeps round to the W and passes through an opening in the hills four miles to the E of Elateia. Thus Elateia is not actually 'on the pass' between Thermopylae and Phocis, but it is near to it. It is also near the route from Trachis through Doris and down the valley of the Cephissus. A few miles S of Elateia these routes unite, and from its acropolis may be seen the gap in the hills through which these united routes pass along the S of the Cephissus from Phocis into Boeotia, soon to reach Chaeronea and ultimately Thebes itself (see Frazer's *Pausanias* v 427). The walls of Elateia had been overthrown in 346, after Philip's conquest of Phocis (cp. Paus. x 3, 2). Philip's rumoured 'intention' to restore them, implied in ταῦτα, would be represented as an unfriendly act towards Thebes, since it would make it difficult for the Thebans to invade Phocis. The intention was actually carried out in 339, when, as narrated in a famous passage in the *De Corona*, Philip seized this important position and made it the base of his operations against Athens (18 §§ 152, 163, 174; Diodorus xvi 84). Cp. ASchaefer *Dem. u. s. Z.* ii 287, 544; Grote c. 90 (viii 210 f.).

§ 15 l. 123. μέλλει . . μελήσει: '(all this) he intends, and (as I hold) will go on intending': i.e. 'will never actually carry out his intention.' The Pres. and Fut. are similarly combined in 19 § 89 χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν περὶσσι καὶ περιστάσι. The Future of μέλλειν in the sense of 'intend' is equivalent to the Present of μέλλειν in the sense of 'delay.' The two senses are combined in Thuc. i 86 § 2 οὐδὲ μελήσομεν ('hesitate') τιμωρεῖν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι μέλλουσι ('are about to') κακῶς πάσχειν, Eur. *Cresphontes* frag. 15 εἰ γὰρ σ' ἐμελλεν ('was about to'), ὡς σὺ φῆς, κτείνειν πρόβις, χρεὶν καὶ σὲ μέλλειν ('hesitate'), and Ion 1300 τοῦ μέλλειν . . ὡς μέλλων.

124 f. (τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις—ἐπὶ τοῖς Λακ.) συλλαμβάνειν: with Dat., 'to aid,' as in 18 § 20; 23 § 137. Cp. Isocr. i § 3 ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην ἡμῖν συλλαμβάνουσαν καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν συναγωνιζόμενον, quoted by the Scholiast on Aristoph. *Ich.* 206 who adds καὶ Δημοσθένους ἐν πρώτῳ Φιλιππικῶν. In *First Phil.* § 34, the only passage in the genuine Philippic orations in which the verb is found in our mss, we have συλλαβῶν in another sense without the Dat. Hence the present passage ἐν ἔκτῳ Φιλιππικῶν can alone be meant, and Weil's conjecture is thus independently confirmed.

With συμβάλλειν (the reading of the mss), the sentence is variously rendered. (1) 'to attack the Lacedaemonians on behalf of Messene' (so Kennedy and Franke; the Dat. being

a *Dat. commodi*, and *συμβάλλειν ἐπὶ* being regarded as = *συμβάλλειν πρὸς* in the hostile sense of the latter found in Isocr. 4 § 69). (2) 'to make common cause (lit. 'make a contract') with the Messenians . . . against the Lacedaemonians,' (ap. Abbott and Matheson); but the Act. *συμβάλλειν* in the sense of making a contract is naturally confined to ten passages in the *Private Speeches*, in only three of which (34 § 1; 33 § 28; 37 § 49) is it followed by the *Dat.*, and in none by *ἐπὶ*. (3) 'to contribute towards' (hence 'to help'), but this would require the *Middle*. Cobet (*MC.* 30) omits *ἐπὶ* and explains *συμβάλλειν* as *commillere ad pugnam*; but this sense, though found in the *Iliad* and Herod. (iii 32, v 1), and some passages of Xen. (*Symp.* 4, 9; *Cyrop.* vi 1, 32; [*Lac.*] 4, 2), is not recognised as ordinary Attic Greek. *συλλαμβάνειν* ought therefore to be preferred.

128. *προσδόκιμος*: sc. *ἤξειν* (added in Diodor. xviii 64), 'expected' to arrive in the Peloponnesus. For the personal use of this Adj. cp. Thuc. i 14 § 3 τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, and vii 15 § 1 ἄλλη στρατιὰ προσδόκιμος.

τοὺς . . ὄντας ἐχθροὺς: not 'who are enemies' (K), which would require τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὄντας; but 'the existing (still surviving) enemies'; opp. to οὓς ἀπώλεσεν. The orator argues that it is improbable that Philip, who is endeavouring to destroy the actually existing Spartan enemies of Thebes, should now be intending to restore her Phocian enemies whom he himself recently destroyed. The argument is not very cogent, for Philip (as the orator is well aware) is not always consistent. For similar forms of antithetic argument cp. § 13; 1 § 24; 2 § 24; 8 § 20; 9 § 13. Here the argument is expressed as a question, and has no connecting particle to introduce it.

130. καί, used here to introduce an *objection* expressed in the form of an indignant question, as in 3 § 29 καὶ τί ἂν εἰπὲν τις ἔχει; 16 § 8; 18 § 235. τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύσειεν; 'Who could believe' that Philip is really hostile to Thebes and friendly to Phocis? If he had really acted on compulsion in handing over to Thebes the independent Boeotian towns of Orchomenus and Coronea (l. 114), and if he were now renouncing the Thebans, I cannot think that he would be persistently opposing the enemies of Thebes, i.e. the Spartans. Or, if *ἐχθροὺς* is omitted (134), 'the interests of Thebes.'

§ 16 l. 131. οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι . . ἐναντιοῦσθαι: Goodwin *MT.* § 220. ἂν . . ἐναντιοῦσθαι is 'indirect' for ἂν ἐναντιώτα (*ll.* §§ 205, 683).

Halm *Commentationes in honorem Mommseni* 697 argues against οὐδ' ἂν ἡγοῦμαι, whether οὐδὲ goes with ἡγοῦμαι (Westermann) or with συνεως ἐναντιούσθαι (Rehdantz and Emil Müller). He considers οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι, preferred by Weil, to be probably right; but himself suggests that οὐδ' ἂν may be a corruption of οὐτάς, for οὐτοί ἂν. If so, οὐτοί as well as ἂν would have to be taken closely with ἐναντιούσθαι, as Dem. would not have said οὐτοί . . . ἡγοῦμαι, 'you may be sure I do not think.' οὐτοί . . . ἐστίν occurs in 4 § 18 and 3 § 20, the only exx. of οὐτοί in Dem. The fact that he uses the phrase so seldom makes the suggestion οὐτάς very improbable, especially as οὐτ' ἂν follows in a different sense.

132. οὐτ(ε) . . (133) οὐτ(ε) repeat the preceding negative οὐκ. τὰ πρῶτα refers to Philip's surrender of Orchomenus etc. to Thebes (114). βιασθείς (117).

133. ἂν, repeated from l. 131. εἰ νῦν ἀπαγγένοσκεν: 'if he were now renouncing'; 3 § 33 ἀπογράφας. εἰ with Impf. of *Present* time, as implied by νῦν (Goodwin *MT.* § 410 p. 147). 134. ἐχθροίς: Sparta.

135. ἀφ' ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ—ποιήσας: Cic. *pro Roscio Amer.* 132 quae iam facta sunt ex eis quae nunc maxime fiunt, nonne quisvis potest intelligere? (Voemel). ἐκ προαιρέσεως: 'on principle,' as the result of a deliberate plan, and not on compulsion. δῆλός ἐστι: personal, as in 24 § 110 πανταχόθεν δῆλός ἐσθ' ἐτι, and 18 § 111; with Part. ποιήσας and συντάττων, as in 18 § 118 ὑπάρξων and § 236 συνεῶν.

136. ἐκ πάντων δ(ε) corresponds to ἀφ' ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ in the first half of the sentence. ἂν τις ὁρθῶς θεωρῇ (1 § 12; 2 § 6; 8 § 13): 9 § 2 ἀνπερ ἐξετάζητ' ὁρθῶς.

137. πᾶνθ' ἃ πραγματεύεται (cp. 8 § 43 πᾶνθ' ὅσα πραγματεύεται κτλ.). This is an improvement on the old text πάντα πραγματεύεται, which makes the orator turn suddenly from a statement of opinion (δῆλός ἐστι . . .) to a statement of fact (πραγματεύεται). The correction brings both clauses under the influence of δῆλός ἐστι. The same general sense may be obtained by Franke's interpretation of the old text, taking ἐκ πάντων with θεωρῇ (like ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς σκοπεῖν 8 § 16; ἀφ' ὧν σκοπεῖν Thuc. ii 48 § 2): si quis autem omni ex parte rem recte consideret, omnia ille contra hanc urbem struit et molitur.

137. πραγματεύεται: stronger than πράττει. κατὰ τῆς πόλεως: 8 § 43 ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν in the context of a parallel passage. Philip is really plotting for the destruction of Athens. συντάττων, 'organising,' 'plotting'; Aeschin. 2 § 183 ψευδὴ συντάξας καθ' ἡμῶν κατηγορίας.

§ 17 l. 138. καὶ τοῦτο(ο)—(148) μισεῖν νομίζει: borrowed in [10] §§ 12 f. ἐξ ἀνάγκης, probably suggested by βιασθείς (132). Philip was *not* acting 'under compulsion' in befriending the Thebans; but there *is* a sense in which (τρόπον τινά) he is so acting against Athens. He is compelled (1) by his ambition; (2) by the wrongs he has already done her; (3) by his

possession of important places once claimed by her, and now essential to his own security. *τρόπον τινά* : 8 § 41.

139. *λογίζεσθε* : 9 § 43. 140. *τόντων* : sc. *τοῦ ἀρχεῖν*. 'He regards yourselves as his only rivals in this.'

141. *ἀδικεῖ* (sc. *ὕμῃς*) : asyndeton. *πολὸν ἤδη χρόνον* : the usual order of these words in Dem., Aeschin. and Isocr. *αὐτῶς* . . *αὐτῶς* : 5 § 4 ; 8 §§ 22, 23 ; 9 § 73.

142. *οἷς*—*τούτοις* = *τούτοις δὲ ὅντα ὑμέτερα ἔχει*, 'by means of those of your own possessions which he retains,' i.e. 'by retaining your own possessions.' The attracted relative is here, as often, emphatically repeated in the demonstrative ; cp. 8 §§ 23, 26 ; 9 § 19.

144. *εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτειδαίαν προέιπο, οὐδ' ἂν οἰκοὶ μῖναι βεβαλὼς ἦγχείται*, 'for he holds that, if he had (formerly) abandoned A. and P., he could not (at the present time) remain in safety even in his own country.' On A. and P. see § 12 and *Introd. to First Phil. and Ol.* pp. xl f.

προέιπο is an ambiguous form, being either 2 Aor. Ind., or 2 Aor. Opt., or Pluperf. Ind. Passiva. It is perhaps best to take it here (with Voemel, Blass, and Weil) as 2 Aor. Ind. (as also in [10] § 12 and 18 §§ 114, 200), and to refer it to the time of the Peace of Philocrates :—'if he had (then) abandoned A. and P.,' instead of retaining them. These places are selected as prominent examples of the Athenian 'possessions' implied in *οἷς οὖσιν ὑμέτεροισι ἔχει*. Similarly, the second half of the present sentence, *οὐδ' ἂν οἰκοὶ μῖναι βεβαλὼς ἦγχείται* is contrasted with the second half of the previous sentence, *τάλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται*. *οὐδ'(ε)* emphasises *οἰκοὶ*, 'not even in Macedonia.' (145) *ἂν* goes with *μῖναι* (= *ἂν ἐμνεῖν*), which depends on *ἦγχείται*, as in *οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι* followed by *ἐναντιοῦσθαι* in § 16, and by *δύνασθαι* in 9 § 1. Cp. 4 § 1 ; [10] § 42 ; 16 § 18, and Goodwin *MT.* §§ 205, 220, 683.

ἦγχείται is due to Cobet, who says, *MC.* 24 :—'Depravatum est ἦγχείτο et hinc de sententia verborum est actum. Emenda ἦγχείται et recte se habebunt omnia . . . *Philippus EXISTIMAT, si Amphipolim missam fuerit, se ne in Macedonia quidem tuto MANERE POSSE, quum vulgata lectio (ἦγχείτο) significet ne domi quidem se tuto MANERE EXISTIMARET, prorsus perverse et contra Demosthenis sententiam.*' *ἦγχείται* is accepted by Weil, and commends itself as parallel in time with *βούλεται* and *συνοιθεῖ* (above), and with *οἷδε* and *νομίξει* (below).

Cobet, in attacking *ἦγχείτο*, apparently assumes that on grounds of symmetry the construction is necessarily *εἰ προέιπο . . . οὐκ ἂν ἦγχείτο*, with *οἰκοὶ μῖναι* dependent on the latter ; but, if we retain *ἦγχείτο*, *ἂν* does not necessarily go with it, any more than in [49] § 24 *οὐτε γὰρ ἂν τοῦτον ἦγχείτο ἀδικῶν αὐτῶν, οὐτ' ἂν αὐτοῖς . . . ἐμνεῖν*, and *Ep.* 3 § 13 *οὐτε δίκαι' ἂν εἶναι . . . οὐτε καλ' ἦγχείτο*. Cp. 80 § 23 *ἐπείγετο εἰ παρήκατο μάρτυρας . . . οὐκ ἂν ἦγεσθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πιστεύειν*. 23 § 103

οὐδ' ἂν ἔπαυτοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἡγεῖν, and 45 § 20 ἡγεῖν . . ἂν λαβείν. In all these passages ἂν goes with the Inf. It is rightly taken thus by Abbott and Matheson, who retain ἡγεῖν, but understand *προεῖπε* as Aor. Opt. :—'he thought' (at the time preceding the Peace of Philocrates) that, if he gave up A. and P., he could not remain, the *oratio recta* being *εἰ προέειπεν, οὐκ ἂν μένειμι*. This may be supported by 20 § 23 (quoted above). Similarly *ἡγεῖν* is followed by the Fut. Inf. in § 12 and 19 § 212, the *oratio obliqua* in both passages including it with the Opt. :—*εἰ λαβείν* and *προεῖπε* in the former passage, and *εἰ μὴ προεβόλετο* in the latter. If, while accepting ἡγεῖται, we were to take *προεῖπε* as Opt., it would necessarily refer to the *future*, and ἂν μέναιν would correspond to ἂν μένοι; but there is now no prospect of Philip's giving up A. and P., whatever may have been the case *before* the Peace of Philocrates.

§ 18 l. 146. ἐπιβουλεύοντα : preferred to the normal Nom. αὐτὸς . . ἐπιβουλεύων for the sake of symmetry with the following Acc. Cp. 14 § 40.

147. εὖ φρονεῖν, 'to be intelligent'; 8 § 29.

149. παρῶνται : 1 § 6 παροῦνθῆναι.

150. ποιήσας : sc. τῇ, understood from πέισεσθαι τι (149). For the thought cp. Xen. *Anab.* ii 5, 5 φάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν, ἐποίησαν ἀνέκιστα κακὰ κτλ. *πρότερος*, redundant, as in 4 § 14 μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε.

§ 19 l. 151. ἐγρήγορον, 'is awake'; 19 § 305 ἐγείρεται (of Athens). ἐφίστηκεν, sc. τοῖς πράγμασιν, *instat*; 'is on the alert, on the watch. ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει, as a menace to Athens; (regarded as an interpolation by Franke, on the ground that it ought to be applied to *all* the three verbs and therefore placed before them).

152. Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων κτλ. : 9 § 58; 18 § 295. τοὺς ταῦτὰ βουλομένους τοῖς τοῖς (= Θηβαίοις); esp. the Argives, Messonians, and Megalopolitans; cp. 5 § 18 ll. 144-6.

153. πλεονέξιν (109), 'cupidity.' τὰ παρόντ' ἀγαπήσιν, 'will prefer (or 'will be satisfied with') the present state of things'; not 'will *rest content with*,' for that would be inconsistent with the cupidity implied in πλεονέξιν. Cp. 23 § 126 τὴν πλεονέξιν ἀγαπῶσιν ('prize the advantage'), supra § 12 τὸ λυσitelοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας, and 18 § 109 there quoted. In the sense of being 'content with' ἀγαπᾶν generally takes the Dat., as in 1 § 14, or ἐάν (3 § 31; cp. 9 § 74), or εἰ (18 § 220), or the Participle (24 § 124). Cp. στέργειν τοῖς παροῦσιν Isocr. 8 § 6, and (in the same sense) στέργε τὰ παρόντα ib. 1 § 29.

154. σκαιότητα τρόπων = ἀναισθησίαν (5 § 15). 18 § 120 σκαῖος εἰ καὶ ἀναισθητός. The ref. is to the Thebans.

155. τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ(α), Gen. after οὐδέν.

156. *σαφρονοῦσί γε*: 1 § 27 τοῖς γε *σώφροσιν*. καὶ
ματρίως, vel *mediocriter*, qualifying *σαφρονοῦσι*. ἐναργῇ
παραδείγματ(α): 19 § 115 ἐναργῇ σημεία.

157. *Μεσσηνίους* . . . *Ἀργεῖους*. The orator here gives a summary of the arguments which he addressed to both, as one of the envoys sent to Peloponnesus in 344 to counteract the influence of Philip. Cp. 18 § 79.

158. *ἔμοιγ' εἶπεν συνέβη*, 'I had occasion to state'; a modest reference to the speeches delivered by the orator as the obvious spokesman of his colleagues. The same tact is shewn in §§ 26, 33. βέλτιον . . . εἰρησθαι: 2 § 4 βέλτιον . . . ἀπηκοῦναι.

καὶ πρὸς τῆς: *Aquila Romanus de figuris § 9 ἀποστροφή, aversio, necessaria plerumque figura, ubi quas ad alios dicta volumus, ad alios dicere videmur. Acutissimum exemplum in Philippicis Demosthenis, ubi, quibus verbis populum Atheniensium monitum vult, ea se dicit apud Graecos et Arcadus et Messenios conlocatum.*

§ 20 l. 160. πῶς . . . οἰσθ(ε) . . . δυσχερῶς κτλ.; cp. 1 § 24 πῶς . . . οἰσθ' ἐτοίμως κτλ.; γάρ may either refer to the unquoted previous context, or be taken with *ἔφην* (= *εἶπον γάρ*, "πῶς οἰσθε;"). *ἔφην*: cp. l. 197.

161. *δυσχερῶς ἀκούειν* = *δυσχερᾶναι ἀκούοντας*. ἀκούειν is coupled with *δυσχερέστερον* in 23 § 19, and with *πικρῶς καὶ ἐναντίως* in 19 § 339. ἀκούειν and (168) *προσδοκᾶν* are Imperf. in sense (cp. 3 § 21); 'how unwillingly do you think they used to hear it, if (or 'when') any one said anything' (Goodwin *MT*. §§ 119, 188). εἰ λέγοι is a 'general supposition' (ib. §§ 462, 479¹). 18 § 43 οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἰ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιο το λέγειν, 9 §§ 11, 45, 61.

163. *Ἀνθεμόντια*: *Ἀνθεμοῦς* (= *ἀνθεμεις*) was a Macedonian town and district deriving its name from a profusion of flowers. It was among the early conquests of the Macedonians of the coast (Thuc. ii 99 § 6). On the expulsion of the Peisistratidae from Athens in 510, it was offered to Hippias by Amyntas (Herod. v 94). It still belonged to Macedonia in 429 (Thuc. ii 99 § 6; 100 § 4). In 368 it was seized by a pretender to the Macedonian throne (Aeschin. 2 § 27). It had long been 'claimed by the Macedonian kings' (l. 164), when in 357 Philip ceded it to the Olynthians as an inducement to support his cause by renewing the war against Athens. It is expressively called τὸ τῶν ταλαιπώρων Ὀλυθίων δέλεαρ by Libanius iv 249 (ap. ASchaefer *Dem. u. s. Z.* ii 24). It may be placed N of Chalcidice, and S of Mygdonia, Crestonia, and Bisaltia; but its exact position is unknown.

(1) Leake (*Northern Greece* iii 450) places it NE of Therma in the vale of Langazá, N of a small lake lying to the E of Lake Bolbe. This would suit the order in which it is mentioned in the passages in Thucydides; ii 99 § 6 implying that it lay between the Macedonian coast and Crestonia and Bisaltia, and 100 § 4 that it was S of Mygdonia and Crestonia. In a list of places captured by a Macedonian pretender (Aeschin. 2 § 27) it is named before Therma and Strepsa, but this helps us little. (2) Abel (*Makedonia* p. 37) places it SE of Therma, in the valley between Galátista and the Thermaean gulf. This would be S of the other site, and nearer to Olynthus. (3) Curtius (*HG.* v 51 ET), apparently in partial agreement with Abel, describes it as 'the port-town on the Thermaean gulf.' Anthemus may originally have been the name of the valley and river, and may afterwards have been applied to any small town that sprang up near the mouth of the river. The fact that the choice of Ippias for a place of refuge lay between Anthemus, Iolcos and Sigaeum (Herod. l.c.) suggests that the town of Anthemus was on the coast, as the others certainly were. If it was on the Thermaean gulf, it was apparently not far from *Ῥαϊνίολος*, which was founded by his father Feisistratus (Aristot. *Const. Ath.* 15 § 2), Anthemus being probably N, and *Ῥαϊνίολος* S of the bold promontory to the extreme W of Chalcidice. I know of no sufficient ground for placing *Ῥαϊνίολος* N of that promontory, as is done by Müller in 'Smith's *Atlas*.'

Local antiquarian opinion at Salonica (as I learn from Mr. G. F. Abbott of Emmanuel College) is in favour of (2), the 'river' being identified with a rivulet rising near Galátista, which runs across the 'Royal Meadow' (*Βασιλική Λεβάνδα*), and reaches the sea N of the promontory above mentioned, while the 'town' is placed between the village of Vasiliká and the ancient Therma, on an inland site where remains of ancient buildings and sepulchral inscriptions have been recently discovered by M. K. I. Aslanoglou.

165. *Ποτειδαία*: Poteidaea, the 'city of Poseidon,' was founded by Corinth; it was the key of the peninsula of Pallene (Thuc. iv 121 § 3), and only $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles S of Olynthus (Thuc. i 63 § 2). While owing allegiance to Corinth, it had become one of the tributary allies of Athens after the Persian wars. Its revolt in 432 was one of the well-known causes of the Peloponnesian war. After its capitulation in 430, it was occupied by 1000 colonists from Athens (Thuc. ii 70 § 4 with Diod. xii 46, 7). In 382, when Sparta attacked Olynthus, Poteidaea, which then belonged to Olynthus, welcomed the attack (Xen. *Hell.* v 2 §§ 15, 24, 39). In 364 it was captured by the Athenian general Timotheus, and in 356 seized by Philip and handed over to Olynthus. Cp. 4 § 4; 2 §§ 7, 14.

ἑδωθον, not 'offered' but rather 'was giving' at the time, defined (like *ἄφαι*) by *κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους*.

τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους: Athenian colonists were sent to Poteidaea not only after 430, but also in 364. The latter are meant in the text, and in [7] § 10 *ταῖς αἰκοῦσιν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ*, [Aristot.] *Oecon.* 1346 a 18 *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Π. αἰκοῦντες*, *CFA.* ii 57 (362 B.C.) *τοὺς κληροῦχους ἐς Ποτειδαίαν* (ASchaefer i 102 n. 2). The establishment of these colonists was one of the causes of the outbreak of the Social War in 357.

166. ἐκβάλλον, 'while (at the same time) he was expelling'; the v.l. ἐκβαλόν would mean 'after he had expelled.'

167. ἀνῆρητο ('had taken on himself') . . ἐδεδώκει: these Pluperfects refer to a somewhat later date than the preceding Imperfects; but all are included under the comprehensive phrase ἐκίνους τοὺς χρόνους (162). τὴν χώραν, 'the territory,' i.e. 'the site,' as the town itself had been destroyed (see 2 § 7).

168. καρποῦσθαι ('to enjoy'): for the Inf. after ἐδεδώκει cp. Thuc. ii 27 § 2 ἔδωκαν Θυρέαν οἰκεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν νέμεσθαι τοιαῦτα (οἷα νῦν πεπρωθασιν).

169. λέγοντος = εἰ τις εἴηεν. ἄν . . πιστεύσαι, in-direct for ἐπιστεύσαι ἄν (Goodwin *MT.* § 224). οἰεσθε is not needed (see l. 160) and may be omitted after πιστεύσαι. The hiatus involved in its retention is only apparent, as αἱ can be elided at the end of Infinitives, as well as in the verbal terminations -μαι and -ται. Cp. 8 §§ 22, 23, 36, 72.

§ 21 l. 170. τὴν ἄλλοτρίαν (γῆν): Poteidaea. Similarly (171) τῆς αὐτῶν (γῆς).

171. πολὺν (χρόνον): although Olynthus had been utterly destroyed, the orator refrains from saying πάντα, thus avoiding a phrase of ill-omen and implying the possibility of its future restoration (Rehdantz).

172. ἐκπεσόντες, 'expelled,' Aor. Pass. to ἐκβάλλω. αἰσχροῦς is explained by the three following participles, κρατηθέντες, προδοθέντες and πρᾶβέντες, the effect of which is increased by alliteration in the last two and by parallel terminations in all.

173. προδοθέντες: Olynthus was betrayed to Philip by Lathones and Euthycrates. Cp. 8 § 40; 9 §§ 56, 66; 18 § 48; 19 §§ 265, 342.

174. πρᾶβέντες: (Euthycrates) ἀλόουσης 'Ολύνθου τιμητῆς ἐγέρετο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων (Hyper. frag. 80).

οὐ γὰρ — ὁμολίαι: the moral of the fate of Olynthus is brought home to the audience in the form of a γνώμη warning free constitutions from consorting with tyrants. ταῖς πολιτείαις: 1 § 5 ἀπiston ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ τυραννίς, and 8 § 43. (175) αὐταί: a reference to the Messenian negotiations with Philip. οὗτοι may be placed between the Article and the Subst., if the latter has another 'attribute'; cp. 8 § 46; 3 § 22; 4 § 17. αἱ . . λίαν ὁμολίαι: 4 § 17 τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἀγαν.

§ 22 ll. 175 f. τίς (4) . . ? a formula of trans-
ition; 8 § 18; 18 § 48; 39 §§ 9, 12, 16, 18.

176. οἱ Θετταλοὶ: 1 §§ 12 f.

177. τοὺς τυράννους: Lycophron and Peitholaus, tyrants of Pherae (Diodorus xvi 37). Philip interfered in the affairs of Thessaly to support the Aleuadae of Larissa against Lycophron of Pherae. The latter called in Onomarchus and the Phocians, who, after defeating Philip, were themselves defeated by him. Philip thereupon laid siege to Pherae, which was surrendered by Lycophron and Peitholaus in 353 (Grote c. 87 viii 45-48; ASchaefer ii 508 f.). καὶ πάλιν (δὲ). Νίκαιαν: a

Locrian town on the Malian gulf, E of Thermopylae; captured in 353 by Onomarchus with other places commanding the approach to the pass, given up to Philip by Phalaecus in 346, and restored by Philip to the Thessalians (ASchaefer i 505, ii 282, 288).

178. Μαγνησίαν: a district of Thessaly annexed by Philip in 352 (1 § 13). The Thessalians claimed its restoration (1 § 22; 2 § 11). Philip promised to restore it in 349 (2 § 7), but did not fulfil his promise until 346. προσδοκᾶν: Imperf. as in 168; cp. ἀκούειν (161).

179. δεκαδαρχίαν, 'a rule of Ten,' 'a decemvirate'; an oligarchical regime similar to that which the Spartan commander Lysander had imposed under that name on many cities of Greece in 405-4 (Isocr. 4 § 110; 5 § 95; 12 § 68).

Harpocration, s.v. δεκαδαρχία, says that Philip did not establish a δεκαδαρχία among the Thessalians as stated in the 'sixth Philippic' (meaning the present passage), but a τετραρχία. For the latter his authority is doubtless Dein. 9 § 26, noticed in his article on τετραρχία, where, after mentioning the four ancient divisions of Thessaly, he adds that (amongst others) Theopompus in the 44th book had shewn that Philip placed a ruler in each of these divisions. In the previous book Theopompus had described the expedition into Epirus (end of 343), and, in the following books, the operations in Thrace and the siege of Byzantium (342 to 340). Hence it is argued that he connected the τετραρχία with 342, whereas the δεκαδαρχία of the text belongs to an earlier date, this speech having been delivered in 344. The argument from Theopompus is not conclusive, as his first mention of the τετραρχία may have occurred in a lost passage of some earlier book, and even the notice in book 44 may have referred to an earlier date than the rest of the book; but, for these reasons, ASchaefer, ii 480 n. 3, distinguishes the δεκαδαρχία from the τετραρχία, placing the institution of the former in 344, and of the latter in 342. He agrees with GHSchaefer in holding that Philip placed a δεκαδαρχία in each of the cities of Thessaly, a view accepted by Gilbert and Busolt; but in that case we should naturally expect the Plural. Voemel supposes that a single δεκαδαρχία and four τετραρχίαι existed simultaneously, the former controlling the whole of Thessaly. This is doubtless consistent with the use of the Singular for the δεκαδαρχία and the Plural for the τετραρχίαι. But (as urged by Weil) Philip's policy was to divide Thessaly, and not to supply it with a strongly centralised power. With a view to reconciling the text with 9 § 26, it has been suggested that δεκαδαρχίας is a corruption of τετραρχίας written δαρχίας (so Reiske, Rehdantz and Cobet MC. 462). But, as there were

four tetrarchies we should expect the Plural, unless indeed the Singular may be used to express a division of the whole country into four parts for purposes of government. On the whole, the most reasonable view is that by using *δεκαρχίας* instead of *τετραρχίας*, Dem. 'skillfully adopts a term which would be more significant to his (Messenian) hearers, who remembered the Decarchies set up (sixty years before) by the Spartans, and were just then in fear of falling again under the Spartan rule' (Heslop following Voemel and Westermann, and similarly Weil).

180. τὴν πύλαϊν (5 § 23) ἀποδόντα: Philip restored to the Thessalians the right of presiding over the Amphictyonic assembly, of which they had been deprived by the Phocians: (ASchaefer ii 288 n. 2). τοῦτον, resumptive, as in 2 § 6.

181. προσόδους: it is obvious that Philip, after having given up certain revenues which had been claimed by the Thessalians (1 § 22), had since resumed them (Weil).

οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα (= τοῦτο), 8 §§ 26, 45; 9 § 13. 'This is impossible'; viz. that the Thessalians should have expected such a change of policy on the part of Philip (so Rehdantz). Whether we understand ταῦτα to mean *προσδοκᾶν* or *ἄλγεα προσδοκᾶν* τοῦ Θ., this is the most obvious sense. It has however been taken to mean 'these events are impossible,' 'such inconsistency (of conduct) is impossible,' implying an answer to that effect on the part of the Messenian audience (so Weil) this would naturally have been introduced by ἀλλ' or by φαίηται; but it has the slight advantage of making ταῦτα refer to 'events' as below.

182. ἀλλὰ μὲν (corresponding to ἀλλ' ὅμως in l. 170) καὶ 'and yet these events have come to pass and every one may know (it).'

§ 23 l. 183. διδόντα καὶ ἐπισχνομένον, 'dispensing gift and promises.'

184. θεωρεῖτε 'sensu cassum est . . sic absolute positum, sed ipsa loc sententia et oppositio recta ducit ad verum: διδόντα μὲν καὶ ἐπισχνομένον ἡδῶς ὁρᾶτε . . Nunc quidem, inquit, largientem et pollicentem Philippum libenter videtis, sed, si sapitis, deprecabimini ne amicum videntis positum his quapropter nunc dolos et fallacias adversus vos struit. . . Menander τὸν εὐτρονὸν ἐκαπὸς ἡδῶς ὁρᾷ . . Dem. p. 247 30 ὅμιν δὲ . . ἐν ταῖς καὶ λόγους καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῇ ἐπικύματα' ὁρᾶσι, ubi solus § mendose exhibet ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι (Cobet *MC.* 462).

ἐξηπατηκότα . . παρακεκρομένον (2 § 5): the usual juxtaposition of synonyms. (185) ἀπέχεσθ(ε): Imperative εἰ συμφρονεῖτε δὴ: § 28 ἂν συμφρονήτε.

188. χαράκατα here only in Dem., who has in 18 § 8: χάρακα βαλόμενοι πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστῆτε ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, and in 21 § 167 χάρακα.

§ 24. After recounting the ' manifold contrivances for the guarding and defending of cities,' and describing all of them as merely material safeguards involving costly expenditure, the orator contrasts with these a moral safeguard inherent in the instincts of all sensible men. But it is not until the disadvantages of the material, and the advantages of the moral, safeguards have been set forth, and the expectations of the audience have been aroused, that the moral safeguard is actually named. It is 'mistrust of despots.' The passage is quoted as an example of *σεμνότης* by Aristides ix 352. Cp. 8 § 64; 9 §§ 36 f.

191. κοινόν, opp. to δαπάνης προσδεῖται, and φέρεται to χειροποιήτα.

192. φυλακτήριον may either be taken with ἐν τι κοινόν, from which it is separated for emphasis, or be rendered 'as a safeguard.' In the latter case the antecedent of εἰς ἐν τι κοινόν, and not φυλακτήριον.

194. τοῖς πλήθεσιν, 'democracies,' 18 § 46; 23 § 104. The Pl. refers to the *πληθος* in each democratical state. Cp. the Pl. δῆμοι (Aristot. *Const. Ath.* 40 § 3) and πολιτεῖαι *passim*.

195. ταύτην . . ταύτης . . ταύτην, emphatically placed at the beginning of a series of short sentences. So in Aeschin. 1 § 191 ταῦτα is repeated four times. This is technically known as ἐπαναφορὰ κατὰ κῶλον. When the case is varied (as in the text), it is described as πολυπτωτον. Cp. 19 § 298 οἱ γὰρ ἡγοῦνται, τοῦτοις πείθεσθε, ὑπὸ τούτων δέος ἐστὶ μὴ παρακρουσθῆτε.

196. οὐδὲν μὴ δεινόν (= οὐ μὴ δεινόν τι) πάθητε: 4 § 44 οὐδὲν . . μὴ γέννηται. Goodwin *MT.* § 295.

§ 25 l. 197. ἔφην: repeated seven times in §§ 20-5, generally with a certain emphasis on the preceding word as *λέσθε* (160, 175), *ὕμεις* (183), *ἰγχείτε* (197), *φυλάξεσθε* (201). Cp. 8 § 74; 9 §§ 42, 44. *εἰτ(α)*: 1 § 24.

198. καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας: even the titles he bears (to say nothing of his personal opinions) are at variance with the cause of liberty.

200. νόμοις: characteristic of a democracy. Aeschin. 1 § 4 δικαιούνται δ' αἱ μὲν τυραννίδες καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἐφεστώτων, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένοις. 23 §§ 138, 141; 24 §§ 75, 152; Thuc. iii 62 § 8.

201. οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὥπως . . μὴ . . εὗρητε: Goodwin *MT.* § 329. One of the ten exx. in Dem. of ὥπως with *εὗρη* in

object clauses (cp. 5 § 17), the Fut. Indic. (here preferred by Cobet) occurring 73 times (see note on 1 § 2 *ὅπως βοηθήσεται* καὶ μὴ πάθῃτε). πόλεμον, war with Sparta.

202. ἀπαλλαγῆναι: 'vividiūs ἀπαλλαγῆν, ut substantivum substantiivo opponatur' (Dobree, and similarly Cobet); cp. 11 § 145 οὐκ ἦν . . . πόλεμον πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγῆ, and Thuc. vii 2 § 1: περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ πολέμου. δεσπότην: Isocr. 5 § 71: (τῷ Philip) λόγῳ μὲν μέλλεις Μεσσηνίους βοηθεῖν, ἀντὶ τὰ περ Φωκίας διακίσσει, ἔργῳ δ' ὑπὸ σταντῷ ποιεῖσθαι Πελοπόννησον. Weil suggests a possible reference to the fable of the Horns and Stag (Aristot. *Rhet.* ii 20, 5).

§ 26 l. 203. καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται: best taken as a parenthesis giving an additional detail to ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες . . . καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους. ταῦτα and λόγους are less satisfactorily taken by Weil with θορυβοῦντες as well as with ἀκούσαντες. To prove that θορυβεῖν in the sense of 'applauding' may take the Acc., he quotes Isocr. *Panath.* § 268: ἐπρημημένοι ἦν καὶ τεθορυβημένοι. But it does not follow from the Passive use in that passage, and in Aristot. *Rhet.* i 2, 10, ii 23, 30, etc., that the verb in *this* sense can take the Acc. in the Active. It is only in the sense of 'disturb' that the verb takes the Acc., e.g. Plato *Phaedrus* 245 B μηδὲ τις ἡμᾶς λόγῳ θορυβεῖτω. In *Apol.* 27 B, μὴ ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα θορυβεῖτω, the Acc. is only cognate. On θορυβεῖν cp. 8 §§ 30, 77.

206. πάλιν ὕστερον, contrasted with παρόντος ἡμοῦ, implies some later occasion, when Dem. had already left for other parts of the Peloponnesus. ὡς ἔοικεν, 'as it appears' from their negotiations with Philip; not to be taken with the previous clause in the sense 'as is natural.' οὕτως μᾶλλον, *nihilō magis*.

207. ὃν ἐπαγγέλλεται, 'his promises'; cp. 1. 2 περὶ ὧν πράττει.

§ 27 l. 208. οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστ' ἀποκον, εἰ—πράξουσιν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς—λήσε(τε): instead of the normal construction after ἀποκον εἰ, viz. μὲν c. *Ind.* followed by δέ c. *Opt.* (as in 19 § 337 and 20 § 147), a negative is prefixed, and the influence of εἰ extends to the first clause only, while in the second the orator breaks out into a direct appeal to his audience. Cp. 8 § 30. Μεσσηνίαι κτλ. mentioned with a certain air of contempt. Elsewhere, the leaders of the minor states of the Peloponnesus are described by Dem. as traitors to the cause of Greece, which he identifies with that of Athens (18 § 295). They were, however, not unwise in preferring to be the allies of Philip instead of the subjects of Sparta. In after times their policy was

regarded by Polybius (xviii 14) as the wisest that they could adopt in the interest of their own states.

211. αὐτοί: contrasted with ἡμῶν.

212. ἐπιβουλεύεσθε: Passive, as in Plato *Rep.* 417 B ἐπιβουλεύοντες καὶ ἐπιβουλευόμενοι, and Aristot. *Pol.* 1311 b 35. περιστοιχίζεσθε, 'are being inclosed, entangled in his toils'; Middle in 4 § 9. The v.l. περιτειχίζεσθε is illustrated by τεύχεσιν in 9 § 17 and ἐπιτειχισμα in 8 § 66, but is less appropriate, *nemo enim per insidias vel imprudens circumvallatur* (Franke).

ἐκ τοῦ, 3 § 3; 4 § 3; 8 § 67; lit. '(arising) out of'; hence, 'by reason of.' (213) ἤδη, 'promptly' (1 § 2; 4 § 8), or 'already,' not in the past, but in each future emergency, 'in time.'

The v.l. ὥστε μηδὲν ἤδη ποιεῖν, 'to escape present exertion' K, is inconsistent with λήσεθ'—ὑπομείναντες, as it makes poor sense to say: 'with a view to escaping (or 'provided only you escape') immediate effort, you will unawares suffer the direst extremities,' where we should have expected ὑπομείνετε or βουλήσεσθε ὑπομείναι, 'you would rather suffer.' Voemel and Jahn (*Comment.* 698) would accordingly place this clause after ὑπομείναντες, with little apparent improvement to the sense.

214. πάνθ' ὑπομείναντες, opp. to μηδὲν ποιῆσαι. The Aor. Part. is coincident in time with the Fut. λήσετε (Goodwin *MT.* §§ 144, 887). Cp. Plato *Gorg.* 487 D ὅπως μὴ λήσετε διαφθάρειντες. ἡ παραντίχ' ἡδονή ('the pleasure of the moment') κτλ.: 3 § 22; 8 § 70; 18 § 45 τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν βραδύνῃ καὶ σχολῇ.

216. συνοίσειν μέλλοντος: 1 § 1; 3 § 36; 4 § 51; 18 § 8; 28 § 2; 50 § 1; *Prooem.* 3.

§ 28 l. 217. τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων: verbal adjectives are seldom found in oblique cases. In Isocr. 15 § 59 πολλῶν ἐτι μοι λεκτέων ὄντων, there is a v.l. λεκτέων. The work of Chrysippus, περὶ τῶν ποιητέων καὶ τῶν οὐ ποιητέων, is often quoted as περὶ ὧν ποιητέον καὶ οὐ ποιητέον. The ordinary construction is found in Thuc. vi 90 § 1 περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν βουλευτέον, and in Isocr. 5 § 83 περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ ὧν σοι πρακτέον ἐστί. But in Lucian we have the Gen., τῶν λεκτέων (*Quomodo historia conscribenda* 52, 56) ἡ σιωπηρέων (ib. 27). The Dat. is far rarer (Rehdantz *Index* p. 414, from Spengel *Δημηγ.* i 40, who proposes ὧν μὲν δὴ ὑμῖν πρακτέον).

καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοίς, with βουλευέσεσθε(ς), 'you will consult by yourselves' (Thuc. i 79 § 2; iii 78 § 1; v 112 § 1), when foreign envoys (Grote c 90, viii 177) are not present in your Assembly,

or even in your city. Cp. Menander βούλευσαι κατὰ σαυτὸν γεγόμενος (Orion *Gnomol.* 1, 17).

218. ἂν σωφρονήτε, to be taken closely with βουλευέσθε, not with καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, which would imply a slur on the envoys.

ἂ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι κτλ., 'I shall now proceed to state the terms of an immediate answer (to the envoys), which (in my opinion) would prove proper for you to pass,' or 'by voting for which you will (in my opinion) feel that you have done your duty'; *quibus vero nunc respondis, ea quae opus est decreveritis*. For the 'compound' form of the Future Perfect with ἂν cp. 19 § 71 πῶς οὐκ ἄσπον . . ἂν πεποιήκότες ὑμεῖς εἴητε, εἰ . . ταῦτα . . μὴ ποιήσατε. Here νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι = εἰ νῦν ἀποκρίνασθε.

<ΑΠΟΚΡΙCIC> The heading is inserted by those who hold that the proposed reply was read at this point (so Olivet, Dobree, Franke and Blass). Others suppose it was read at the end of the speech (so Rehdantz, Spengel, Westermann and Weil). Some of the latter have observed that ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον κτλ. is not the most obvious form of words for resuming the argument, if the reply has just been read.

221. ἦν . . δίκαιον : like εἶδει and ἐχρήν' (4 § 27), apodosis without ἂν (Goodwin *MT.* §§ 415 f.). Xen. *Hell.* vi 3, 6 δίκαιον μὲν οὖν ἦν. The construction implies that Philip's partisans were not actually summoned to appear. They ought to have been summoned, *either* to propose a reply to Philip's envoys (so Weil), *or* (more probably) to accept the responsibility for promises which were still unfulfilled (so EMüller).

221 f. τοὺς ἐνγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις (§ 12 l. 106), 'those who brought the (news of Philip's) promises'; e.g. Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, Neoptolemus (19 §§ 12, 315). Philip had not committed himself by making direct promises in his own person. ἐφ' αὐς, l. 106.

§ 29 l. 223. αὐτός : Dem. had been a member of both of the embassies to Philip, (1) for discussing the terms of peace, and (2) for receiving the oaths of acceptance.

224. ἂν is separated from ἐπαύσαθε by οἷδ' ὅτι (Goodwin *MT.* § 220'), here used adverbially ('assuredly'), as in § 30.

226 f. ἦν . . ἀφεισηκότα : more complete than ἀφειστήκει. Cp. 1 § 12; 3 §§ 24, 33; 8 § 75; also (with Adj.) 3 § 26. (227) τούτων : Philip's present acts. τὰ τότε λεγόμενα : the short syllables are here allowed, as in the exceptions stated in note on 2 § 2 l. 12.

227. καὶ πάλιν γ(ε) : 2 § 10. 228. καλεῖν : sc. ἦν δίκαιον. τοῖς, separated from λέγοντας (233) by several descriptive accessories extending over 30 words. Cp. § 5 (l. 37); § 8 (l. 60); 1 § 13; 2 §§ 5, 15. The Plural is purposely vague, as political opponents are not named in these deliberative speeches. The reference is to Aeschines and his friends, esp. to Philocrates.

230. ἤκων, 'having returned home.' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκους, 'with a view to receiving the oaths'; 19 §§ 17, 57, 94, 182; Aeschin. 2 §§ 91, 96, 123.

231. φανακίζομένην : 2 § 7; 4 § 38; 9 § 8, etc. Elsewhere in Dem. the verb is coupled with ἐξαπατᾶν, παρακρούεσθαι, παράγειν, κατακτείνειν, ψεύδεσθαι and γοητεύειν.

προβλεγον καὶ διαμαρτυρούμενην : 19 § 45 ἐκ τούτων οὖν τεκμαιρόμενοι, ἀναστὰς καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπειρώμενη μὲν ἀντιλέγειν, ὡς δ' ἀκούειν οὐκ ἠθέλετε, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον, τοσοῦτον μόνον διαμαρτυρούμενος, ὅτι ταῦτ' οὐτ' οἶδα οὔτε κοινωνῶ, προσέθηκα δ' ὡς οὐδὲ προσδοκῶ, 18 § 199 καὶ σὺ προβλεγες καὶ διαμαρτύρου.

232. προέσθαι (1 § 9) Πύλας . . Φωκίας : 10 § 18 περὶ τῶν ὑπολοιπῶν (ταῦτα δ' ἦν Φωκεῖς καὶ Πύλαι) μὴ προέσθαι συμβούλευον.

§ 30 l. 233. ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδωρ πίνων—ἄνθρωπος : 19 § 46 ἐπαρσάτας δ' ὁ Φιλοκράτης μάλ' ὑβριστικῶς "οὐδὲν" ἔφη "θανμαστὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθ., μὴ ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ Δημοσθίνει δοκεῖν· οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ δ' οἶνον πίνω" (with Shilleto's n.). Cp. Lucian *Dem. Encom.* 15 τὸν Δημῶδην παῖζαι φασιν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ὑδροποσίαν, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸς ὕδωρ λέγοιεν (i.e. the κλεψύδρα), τὸν Δημοσθένην δὲ πρὸς ὕδωρ γράφειν. Hence Gay was mistaken in applying to Demosthenes his lines in praise of wine :—

'thou . . . with eloquence profound,
and arguments convictive, didst enforce
fam'd Tully and Demosthenes renown'd.'—i 285 ed. 1779.

234. δύστροπος καὶ δύσκολος (5 § 2) . . τις ἄνθρωπος, 'an ill-conditioned and ill-tempered sort of person.' 30 § 1 δυσκολώτερον (masc.); Aeschin. 3 § 59 δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, εἰμὶ : here retained in indirect discourse, instead of being altered into εἶην. Cp. 8 §§ 4, 73; 21 § 104; 22 § 2; Plato *Apol.* 18 n; Xen. *Hell.* ii 3, 45. In all such passages Cobet prefers the *Orp.* (*NL.* 335).

235. Φίλιππος δ', ἅπερ εὐχαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἂν παρελθῇ, πράξει : 'but that Philip, if he passed the straits, would do just as you would desire.' Cp. 29 § 5 ἀρξομαι ἐντεύθεν ὅθεν καὶ ὑμεῖς ῥῆσθ' ἂν μάθοιτε. The antecedent is definite; otherwise we

should have had & ἀν ἐβήθη (Goodwin *MT.* § 519); on πράξει ib. § 444.

236-9. Θισσιῶν . . Πλαταιῶν . . Θηβαίων . . Εὐβοίων . . Ὠρωπῶν: 5 § 10.

237 f. Χερρόνησον—διορίζει: nothing could more effectually protect the Athenian colonists in the Chersonesus than a canal to keep off incursions by the tribes of Thrace. Philip was described as ready to make this canal at his own expense. It was to be cut across the isthmus, going past Pteleum to the White Cliff, ὃ ἡ διορυχὴ ἐμελλε Χερρόνησον ἐκτεθεῖν, [7] § 39. The isthmus had originally been fortified for the same purpose by Miltiades (Herod. vi 36) and afterwards by Pericles (Plut. *Pericl.* 19), and Dercyllidas (Xen. *Hell.* iii 3, 10). τέλειον, Thuc. iv 60 § 2 τ. τοῖς οἰκείοις, vi 16 § 3 τοῖς ἰδίοις τ.

240. τοῦ βήματος: see note on 4 § 45 l. 407.

241. μνημονεύει(ς) . . ῥηθίντα: Goodwin *MT.* § 904. οὐδ' ὅτι (224).

242. οὐδ' ἀνολ—μνησθῆναι: an aptitude for forgetting injuries is here described as characteristic of Athens. Cp. 18 § 99 κἀν οὐτις τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτυ, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς ἄλλ' ἔχετε κτλ. On the present occasion the orator feels sure that the injuries have not been forgotten.

§ 31 l. 243. τὸ . . αἰσχιστον: Acc. in apposition to the object of ἐψηφίσασθε. Cp. 2 § 1 τὸ μέγιστον, and 3 § 31 τὸ πάντων ἀνδρειότατον. τοῖς ἐκγόνοις: 'the descendants' of both parties is necessarily implied. 19 § 48 τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἥπερ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, and esp. §§ 54-56. This clause was added on the 16th day of Scirophorion.

The mss vary between ἐκγόνοις and ἐγγόνοις. S has ἐγγ- here and in 19 §§ 87, 310; [43] §§ 26, 48, 50; [50] § 3; but ἐγγ- in 19 §§ 48, 54, 56; [43] §§ 19, 20. In Plato *Rep.* 364e the mss have ἐγγόνων. ἐγγόνους is preferred by Shilleto in his critical note on *Fals. Leg.* p. 356, where he suggests that ἐκγονος may mean 'a son,' and ἐγγονος 'a descendant'; but both words are now regarded as identical in meaning: both mean 'a descendant.' The first syllable of ἐγγονος (pronounced *eggonos*) has nothing to do with ἐν, being only a weakened form of ἐκ, in which γ is due to assimilation with the following consonant (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* i² § 261 A 1). In inscriptions of cent. iv B.C. we have 12 exx. of ἐγγονος, against 25 of ἐκγονος, the latter in *C.I.A.* ii 51 (Hicks 84) 81, and *C.I.A.* ii 52 (Hicks 88) 11, 13, 28. In cent. v ἐγγ- occurs once (*C.I.A.* i 381, where the ms of the same epigram in *Anth. Pal.* vi 138 has ἐκγ-), while ἐκγ- occurs twice (Meisterhans p. 83² note 791, Reinach *Épigraphie Grecque* 831).

πρὸς τὰς ἀπείδας, 'in view of these hopes'; 1 § 11 πρὸς τὸ τελευταῖον κρίνεται.

245. ὑπήχθητε: Passive in 9 § 1, and 18 § 10, as v.l. in 5 § 10; Active and Middle in 8 §§ 62 f.

246. φημι δεῖν (4 § 16). δεῖν is here practically equivalent to the Imperf. εἴδει or ἦν δίκαιον (221) of direct discourse.

247. νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς: 8 § 49; 9 § 65. παρηγορία: see notes on 3 § 32, and 4 § 51 πεπαρηγορίασμαι. ἐρῶ . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι: 8 § 73; [13] § 10; 19 § 3; 24 §§ 1, 104, 200; an expansion of phrase produced by adding to the positive statement its equivalent in a negative form and in an emphatic position. Cp. 18 § 56 ἐρῶ καὶ οὐδὲν παραλείψω, 45 § 83 ἐρῶ καὶ οὐ σιωπήσομαι.

§ 32 ll. 248-52. αὐχ τν', εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐμπεσόν, ἐμμανῶ μὲν ἐξ ἱσθον λόγον παρ' ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δ' ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ νῦν παράσχω πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππου, 'it is not that, by finding myself driven into an altercation, I on my part may permit myself to speak on (merely) equal terms in your presence, while I once more provide my old opponents with a pretext for receiving a fresh favour from Philip.'

εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐμπεσόν may possibly mean 'by (reluctantly) falling into invective' (directed by myself against the partisans of Philip); cp. 18 § 256 εἰς τοιοῦτους λόγους ἐμπέπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι. But, more probably, it refers to *mutual recrimination* on the part of Dem. and his opponents, and is thus practically equivalent to ἀμφοτέρων ἀλλήλους λοιδορουμένων. This is better than making it mean 'having fallen under the abuse of my opponents' (*convicia adversariorum subeundo*, Franke); for this strictly passive sense cp. 9 § 7 εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπίσθη. On λοιδορία cp. 9 § 54.

249. ἐμμανῶ . . . λόγον . . . ποιήσω: lit. 'I may give myself leave to speak,' i.e. 'permit myself to speak.' λόγον ποιεῖν means *dicendi copiam facere* in 23 § 81 οὐδὲ τούτῳ λόγον οὐδὲ κρίσιν πεποίηκεν (=ἀπεστέργσε λόγον καὶ κρίσεως ib. § 78). Here the addition of ἐμμανῶ makes the phrase virtually equivalent to ἵνα λόγον τύχω. λόγον τυχεῖν, 'to gain a hearing,' occurs in 18 § 13; 19 § 94; 23 § 62. λόγον ποιεῖν cannot by itself mean 'to make a speech,' for that is regularly expressed by λόγον ποιέσθαι (3 § 3; 8 § 1; cp. 2 § 11). But, if we are not content to take the phrase as = λόγον τύχω, it is possible that Dem. used ἐμμανῶ μὲν λόγον ποιήσω as an equivalent to ἐγὼ μὲν λόγον ποιήσομαι, his object in prefixing ἐμμανῶ being to secure perfect symmetry of structure by using the same Dative case of himself and of his opponents in the two contrasted clauses.

ἐξ ἴσου, 'on (merely) equal terms' with my opponents, instead of deriving any advantage from my disinterested patriotism. Cp. esp. 19 § 226 τοῖς ἀλιτρίοις ταῦτοις ἐξ ἴσου νῦν ἐμ' ἀγωνίσεσθαι, 18 § 236 αὐτὸ . . τὸ δημηγορεῖν ἐξ ἴσου . . προδίδεθ' ὑμῖν τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μαθηροῦσι καὶ ἐμοί, and [10] § 75, where the audience is described as listening *with equal impartiality* to the patriotic orator and to the partisans of Philip, ἐξ ἴσου καθ' ὅθ' ἀκούμενοι, although it knows *tis masōu* λέγει. This last passage is followed by the words ἐν, αἰτιασάμενοι τούτους καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰς γέλωτα καὶ λοιδορίαν ἐμβαλόντες, μηδὲν αὐτοὶ τῶν δόντων ποιῆτε, which supply a partial parallel to εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐμπεσόν. Cp. also 18 § 177 ἐξ ἴσου . . παρησιάζεσθαι (on equal terms with the opposite party in Thebes), and 45 § 65 τῶν πολιτῶν μηδενὶ μὴδ' ἐξ ἴσου χρήται, followed by πάλιν ἔξει. ἐξ ἴσου is often applied to giving an 'impartial' hearing, as in 29 § 4; Aeschin. 3 § 57 and Isocr. 8 § 3. It also occurs in Dem. 8 § 47 πολεμεῖν; [10] § 4 πολιτεύεσθαι; 15 § 15 συμμαχεῖν; and in 19 § 280; 20 § 121; 21 §§ 68, 138; 25 § 26; 36 § 48; [43] § 18; [59] § 14. In the text it is not to be taken with ἐμᾶντῃ, 'my former self,' 'just as before,' καθάπερ πρότερον.

The above explanation agrees in general with that given by Reiske, and, in a more precise form, by GHSchaefer. *Nullum aliud inde referam emolumentum, quam ut mihi liceat vobiscum in concione libere agere; in quo nihil amplius atque splendidum adeptus fuero; licet enim hoc civi cuique Atheniensi perinde facere (Reiske); non ut, cum conviciatoribus congressus, mihi quidem eandem apud vos audientiam faciam, quam, quod estis levitate, adversariis meis praebetis (GHSchaefer; and similarly Jacobs, Franke, Westermann, Rehdantz, and Tarbell); non ut, in convicia eorum delapsus, mihi quidem dicendi facilitatem apud vos aeque faciam (Voemel); mir eine Rede auf gleichem Fuss (mit meinen Widersachern) bei euch erwirke (Blass). Among other explanations are non ut faciam, ut ex aequo (i.e. vicissim) contra me apud vos dicentur (Auger); 'not that I may fall awrangling to provoke recrimination before you' (Kennedy, and similarly Leland, Whiston, and Heslop); il ne veut pas réveiller l'attention du peuple de la manière dont ses adversaires ont l'habitude de la faire (ἐξ ἴσου), en descendant à des injures (Weil); eine gleichartige (von der Loidopia erfüllte) Rede halten (Baran); 'not that, by indulging in abuse, I may create talk for myself before you,' as my opponents do, i.e. display my powers in abuse, as those who attack me do (Abbott and Matheson); or 'manufacture talk,' talk for the mere sake of talking (Marchant Cl. Rev. iv 267).*

250. τοῖς ἐμοὶ προσκρούουσιν, 'those who came into collision with me'; intrans., as in 21 § 206 προσκρούουκεν ἐμοί. In 19 § 205 the verb is applied to the orator's differences with his fellow-envoys, ἀντὶ τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ προσέκρουον.

251. ἐξ ἀρχῆς, 'from the beginning,' 'from the very first'; best taken with προσκρούουσιν. It is contrasted with καὶ νῦν, which is combined with παρώχῳ πρόφασιν, and is further enforced by πάλιν. It seems less satisfactory to

combine ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ νῦν, and take both phrases with the Participle, solely to obviate the slight tautology involved in καὶ νῦν and πάλιν, both occurring in the same part of the sentence. The v.l. ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ νῦν accidentally resembles 4 § 14 ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ νῦν παρασκευήν.

252. τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππου: the partisans of Philip, replying to a challenge on the part of Dem., would be tempted to make fresh promises and representations on Philip's behalf, and thus establish a claim to fresh rewards at his hands. 18 § 19 ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλείστ' ἀντιλέγων τοῖς, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Ἀσχήνη, τοῖς προδιδούσι καὶ μισθορνοῦσι τὸ εἶναι ἐφ' ὅτ' ὁμοδοκῆσθε περιποιεῖ. ὡς ἄλλως, 'idly'; see note on § 10 ὡς ἐτέρως; 3 § 21 τὴν ἄλλω. (253) ἀδολεσχεῖν used again by Dem. only in *Prooem.* 56 § 3 μάτην ἀδολεσχεῖν. Cp. [50] § 2 μὴ με ἡγήσασθε ἀδολεσχεῖν, εἰς δὲ μακροτέρων διηγῶμαι κτλ.

253. ἀλλ' οἶμαι, 'on the contrary, I think.' The construction with ἵνα is here abandoned for a direct statement.

Halm, *Commentationes* 698 f., recalls Döderlein's remark that ἀλλά must here mean *sondern*. He accordingly prefers marking the close connexion of this sentence with the last by substituting a comma for the usual semicolon.

253. (ταῦτα) ὁ Φίλιππος πράττει is the Subject to λυπήσων ὑμᾶς. With the latter cp. 8 § 57 ἂν τι λυπήσθε τῷ πολέμῳ, and Thuc. ii 61 § 2 where τὸ λυποῦν is applied to the pain caused by an invasion of Attica. (254) τὰ νυνί, opp. to ποτέ. τὰ νῦν = νῦν, 3 § 34; 8 § 13.

§ 33 l. 255. πρᾶγμα(a) . . προβαῖνον: § 5 προελθόντ(a). οὐχὶ βουλομένην ἂν (= βουλομένην ἂν μὴ) εἰκάξαι ὁρθῶς: similarly the negative generally precedes φημί, οἶμαι, εἰπῶ, instead of going with the Inf. dependent on them. See L & S, s.v. οὐ, II 3.

256. φοβοῦμαι μὴ . . ἧ: 9 § 1; Goodwin *MT.* § 305 and § 92.

257. τοῦτ(ο): the ultimate vexation, which will be caused by Philip's present designs on Attica. ἤδη at the end of the clause, as in 4 § 8; 2 § 26; 18 § 10. The general sense is: 'though I hope I may not prove a true prophet, I fear that the moment of painful disillusion is now only too near.'

ἀμελεῖν: Inf. without Article after ἐξουσία γίγνηται = ἐξῆ. Similarly 8 § 8 ποιεῖν ἐξουσίαν δώσωμεν, 9 § 75 ποιεῖν ἀνάγκη γένηται (cp. 1 § 15), 8 § 52 ἡσυχίαν ποιοῦσι πράττειν. So Inf. with ἐξουσίαν παρέχει Xen. *Mem.* ii 1, 25, and ἐξ. ἐσεσθαι ib. iii 6, 11 (Goodwin *MT.* § 749).

258. τῶν συμβαινόντων : Gen. after ἀμελεῖν.

259. ἐφ' ὧμας : 5 § 23. τοῦ δαίνοσ, modestly added to imply that any other speaker might say the same

260. ὁρᾶτε καὶ εἰ εἰδῆτε : 19 § 204 ὁρακόντας καὶ εἰ εἰδόντας. 23 § 122 ὁρᾶτε καὶ καταμανθάνετε. (260 f.) ὀργίλους καὶ τραχείας : 8 § 32 φοβεροὺς καὶ χαλεποὺς.

§ 34 l. 262. τῶν πρέσβων σισιαπηκότων (ἐκεῖνα) ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοῖς συνίστασι δεδωροδοκηκότες, 'as the envoys have kept silence as to the services for which (lit. 'the grounds on which') they are conscious of having been corrupted.' Cp. 18 § 49 τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὧν δωροδοκῆσετε, and esp. 19 § 207 ἀκούετέ μου . . λέγοντος Ἀντικριε, ὅτι χρημάτων' εὐλόγησιν καὶ ταύτων οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀκούων ταύτ' ἀντίκριν οὐδὲ διήρπεν τὸ στόμα . . The reason for their silence is added in § 208 ὅτι τάληθες ἰσχυροὶ, καὶ τοῦναντίον ἀσθενεῖς τὸ συνειδέναι πεπρακόσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα. τοῦτο . . σιωπᾶν ποιεῖ.

263. συνίστασι, with Part. as in 3 § 3, etc.

265. ὀργῇ περιπεσόντων κτλ. : Ep. 2 § 14 τῇ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοῖς ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις ὀργῇ περιπέπτωκ' ἀδίκως τῷ πρώτῳ εἰσεύναι.

265-7. ὁρᾶ γάρ κτλ. : 1 § 16 οὐκ ἄγνοῶ τοῦθ' ὅτι πολλὰ κίς ὑμεῖς οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑστάτους περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπόντας, ἐν ὀργῇ ποιείσθε. The same thought is now expressed in a milder form, possibly because the orator has in the meantime brought many of his hearers to a better mind. ὡς τὰ πολλὰ(ά) : 'generally,' 'as a rule'; cp. ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολλόν. (267) ὑπὸ χεῖρα, 'under their power.' τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφέντας : 22 § 58.

§ 35 l. 268. ἔως—συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα, 'while the trouble is still in the future, and is only beginning to close upon us.' 18 § 62 τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φεομένου κακοῦ. Here the orator implies that the storm is still brewing, the clouds still gathering, before the thunder makes it impossible for people to hear the sound of one another's voices, ἔως κατακούσμεν ἀλλήλων. But the simile is only suggested in a manner that proves the orator's consummate self-control no less than the famous ὥσπερ νέφος of the *de Corona* § 188.

270. τίς (ἦν) : Aeschines. (271) Φωκίας—προέσθαι : § 29. πείσας, no. ὧμας.

272-6. ἐπὶ and εἰς, and περὶ and ἐνὲρ are here used for variety's sake; cp. § 10; 1 § 5; 3 § 1. An accumulation of short syllables is also avoided by using ἐνὲρ instead of περὶ, after μῆθ(ε) and ἀλλ(ά). (274) τῶν δικαίων, 'your

just claims.' (275) τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων, 'your interests abroad.' It is idle to discuss questions of right relating to your interests abroad, in the presence of the imminent peril of invasion at home.

277. λυπήσει (253). (278) ἐπειδὴν generally found with Aorist Subj., in the sense of a Future Perfect, as in 2 § 21; 3 § 11; 4 §§ 10, 14, 22; 8 §§ 11, 38, 52; 9 §§ 35, 50, 69; 18 § 47; 19 §§ 47, 99. Here with Present Subj. παρῆ, and similarly with verbs which have no Aorist, as in 4 § 10 ᾗ and 8 § 59 ᾗ; also with other verbs, as in 8 § 59 ἐπιχειροτοῦντε, 19 §§ 25, 138 ἀκούῃ, 19 § 186 φαίνηται. γέγονεν, 'has come into being,' 'has sprung into existence,' i.e. dates (from).

ἡμέρα: 10 July 346 B.C., the day on which the envoys reported the result of the Second Embassy; 19 § 58.

§ 36 l. 279. παρεκρούσθητε: see notes on § 23; 2 § 5 and 20 *Lept.* § 74. οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῇ πόλει πᾶγμα, '(for, if you had not been deceived *then*), there would be no trouble for the state (*now*).' οὐ is implied, by contrast with τότε (as in 19 § 153), and ἂν ἦν should be understood as referring to Present time rather than Past (Goodwin *MT.* § 410). Cp. 4 § 1 *ei* . . τὰ δέοντα . . συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμῶν εἶδει βουλευέσθαι. (280) πᾶγμα, (255), 8 § 31; 'trouble'; oftener in Pl. in this sense (1 § 8; 8 § 37).

280 f. οὔτε γὰρ ναυοὶ δέπου κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθεν ἂν ποτε στόλῳ Φωκίῶνος κτλ., 'for (if you had not been deceived *then*), Philip would *never*, I presume, have been destined to invade Attica either with a naval force after having been victorious with his fleet, or by marching on foot through Thermopylae and Phocis.' ναυοὶ κρατήσας is further enforced by στόλῳ, and both are contrasted with πεζῇ βαδίζων. Philip had formed a fleet consisting of a few cruisers as early as 355 (note on 4 § 22), and had carried off the sacred trireme from Marathon about 353-2 (4 § 34). But he had not actually had an engagement with the Athenian fleet at sea; ναυοὶ κρατήσας is in fact part of a conditional statement referring to a possible future contingency. Cp. 18 § 146. (οὔτε) ἦλθεν ἂν ποτε does not imply that Philip *had* actually invaded Attica, either by sea or by land. In this type of conditional sentence, while the verb of the protasis with *ei* (here *ei* μὴ παρεκρούσθητε) always implies its opposite, the verb of the apodosis with *an* does not *always* imply its opposite (Goodwin *MT.* §§ 412 f.). ἦλθεν ἂν ποτε denotes the ultimate result (ποτε referring really to the future), and is in fact equivalent to ἔξεν ἐμελλεν. This is conclusively proved by a closely parallel passage in 19 § 153 *ei* γὰρ ᾗσαν, ὥς ᾗσαν τότε, Φωκεῖς σῶσι καὶ Πύλας εἶχον, ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν

ὑμῖν εἶχεν ἀνατείνασθαι φοβερόν'. . . οὐτε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν παρελθὼν οὐτε ναυσὶ κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἤξειν ἐμελλεν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐκείνου παραχρῆμα, εἰ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσῃ, κλείσειν τὰ ἐμπορία καὶ χρημάτων τ' ἐν σπάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πολιορκίᾳ πάλιν αὐτὸν καταστήσειν, ὥστ' ἐκείνος ὁ δουλεύσων ἐμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης λυσιτελοῦσιν, οὐχ ὑμεῖς. This parallel is from a speech delivered in the following year. It confirms the statement in Goodwin *MT.* § 243, that 'he would have been likely to go' is one of the possible renderings of ἦλθεν ἄν. Cp. 9 § 13.

στέλλω: [60] §§ 8, 10, 11; found here only in the genuine speeches of Dem.; generally used as here of a 'naval armament'; even in Thuc. vi 31 § 3, where it includes τὸ πρῆξιν as well as τὸ ναυτικόν, a *naval* expedition is meant.

282. βαδίζων, 9 § 10; 1 §§ 12, 25; the regular word for 'marching' by land, as opposed to πλεῖν (19 §§ 164, 181), which is here expressed by an equivalent phrase. ὑπὲρ with Acc. 'by the route through and beyond,' 'through,' or 'past'; here alone found in a *local* sense in the public speeches. Cp. Plato *Critias* 108 E ὑπὲρ Ἑρακλείας στήλας.

283. Φωκίας = 'Phocia,' as in § 7 and 9 § 11 εἰς Φωκίας ἐπορεύετο. It has however been suggested the Φωκίας here refers to the Phocian troops which once guarded Thermopylae (EMüller), in which case the sense is 'past Thermopylae and its Phocian defenders'; but this seems less probable. ἄν ἐπολεῖ like ἄν ἦν (279 and 284) is best understood as referring to *Present* time.

284. εἶχεν is under the influence of the preceding ἄν, as in § 6 ll. 60 f. παραχρῆμα(α) ἄν ἦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ: cp. 19 § 153 quoted on ll. 280 f., where the operations of such a war are described. ὁμοίῳ (= τοιοῦτω ὅλος ἦν) δέ: ἔν: see note on 1 § 11. On the analogy of τοιοῦτος ὅλος, we may have ὁμοιος ὅλος (Plato *Rep.* 590), and even ὁμοιος ὅσπερ (Xen. *Anab.* v 4, 34), and ὁμοιος δε (as here). Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II § 555, 3, 12.

§ 37 l. 286. ὥς . . ἐπομνήσαι, Inf. Absolute as in ὥς ἐπος εἰπὼν (6 § 1; 9 § 47); Goodwin *MT.* §§ 577 f.; here combined with ἡκανῶς: 'enough has now been said to awaken recollection.' Nicostratus in Stobaeus 70, 12 ὥς δ' οὐδ' ἐπομνήσαι ἡκανῶς αἶμαι καὶ ταῦτα.

287. ὥς . . ἄν ἔτασθῇ (sc. ταῦτα) κτλ., 'as to any way in which my words could ever be put to the strongest test, heaven grant that it may never come to pass.' The forebodings of Dem. would be verified by Philip's invasion of Attica which the orator earnestly prays may still be averted. Here (as in

§ 3 ὡς ἂν εἰποῖτε and κωλύσαιτε) we have the *relative* ὡς with ἂν and the potential Opt. (Goodwin *MT.* § 329, 2). This explanation suits the parallel passage better than taking ὡς=ὅτι and making ὡς—ἀκριβῶς the subject of γένοιτο (so Tarbell).

288. ὡ πάντες θεοί: 9 § 76; 18 § 324.

288-91. οὐδένα γὰρ βουλόμην . . ἂν—δίκην ὑποσχέσθαι, 'for I myself would have no man punished, though death he may deserve, to the danger and damage of all.' Cp. § 33 οὐχὶ βουλόμην ἂν. The wish resembles that in 18 § 89 μετάσχοιεν ὡν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτέετε, μὴ μεταδοίεν ἡμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται. οὐδένα is here regularly retained in indirect discourse, Goodwin *MT.* § 667, 5.

(289) οὐδ(4) repeats with emphasis the preceding negative in οὐδένα. δίκαιος—ἀπολωλέναι: personal construction (as in 15 § 16), instead of impersonal δίκαιον.

(290) μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας: 37 § 46 μετ' οὐδεμίας ζημίας, with κίνδυνος in the previous clause. καὶ τῆς ζημίας should not be taken with δίκην ('even the penalty they deserve,' Abbott and Matheson), but coupled with τοῦ κινδύνου, while πάντων depends on both, though expressed with κινδύνου alone. Cp. 8 § 3 τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θορύβοις καὶ ταῖς κατηγορίαις.

(291) δίκην ὑποσχέσθαι: 19 § 182; 21 § 112; 23 § 83. ἀποσχηκέσθαι 19 § 281. Coming immediately after ζημίας the forensic phrase is specially appropriate. The conclusion foreshadows the trial of Philocrates in the first half, and Aeschines in the second half, of the following year, 343.

NOTES ON THE SPEECH

ON THE CHERSONESUS (OR. VIII)

§ 1 l. 1. ἔδει κτλ., i.e. 'the speakers *ought not* to make a single speech out of regard to enmity or to favour' (*and yet they do so*). After ἔδει the denial of the action of the Inf. is always implied (Goodwin *MT.* § 419). Similarly after ἐχρῆν (§ 33), and ἦν δίκαιον (6 § 28).

2. πρὸς ἔχθραν κτλ.: *Prooem.* 12 § 1 τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐπῆρειαν. τὰ δὲ πρὸς φίλων δημηγορεῖν, 5 § 7 πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν. ποιῆσθαι λόγον, 'to make a speech'; cp. 3 §§ 2, 3; and note on 6 § 32 λόγον ποιῆσω; in Plural, of negotiations (2 § 11).

(3) πρὸς χάριν: § 69; 3 § 3; 4 § 51; 5 § 7; 9 § 63. πρὸς ἡδονὴν §§ 34, 69; 9 § 4; 1 § 15; 4 § 38.

4. ἦγετο: Imperf. in relative clause, attracted to the same tense as that of the principal verb ἔδει. Cp. 9 § 1 ἡμελλε, 9 § 5 and 4 § 2 προσῆκε. ἄλλως τε καί: 1 § 5; 3 § 12.

This exordium is imitated by Sallust *Catil.* 51 omnes homines, P. C., qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio amicitia trā atque misericordia vacuos esse docet.

6. ἐπεὶ: causal (v.l. ἐπειδὴ as in 3 § 6). See note on 2 § 8. φιλονικία: *Prooem.* 12 § 2 τὰς ἰδίας ἀνελόντας φιλονικίας τὸ κοινῇ βέλτιστον σκοπεῖσθαι, *Prooem.* 31 § 1 τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλονικίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῦς τρέψαντες.

7. ἡτινιδίητος(ε) vaguely suggests an unworthy motive; cp. 18 § 21 οὐκ ὅτι δὴ ποτὶ εἰρεκα, 40 § 8 ὁτιναδὴ ποτ' οὐκ τρόπον, 35 § 6 ἐπὶ δὲ ποτε, 3 § 7 ἐπωσδὴ ποτε. Cp. § 20 ὁποιοντινασού. προάγονται, 'are prompted,' Passive as in 5 § 23; Middle in § 72 and 5 § 14.

8. τοὺς πολλοὺς, in apposition to ὑμᾶς and in contrast to ἔνοι. Cp. 18 § 45 τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν, 3 § 31 ὑμεῖς δ' ὁ δῆμος, Thuc. vi 38 § 3.

9. ἀφελόντας, 'having laid aside'; 23 § 20 *εἰς τὸ μὲν λέγειν περὶ τῶν νόμων, ἀφελὼν δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα* εἰρηται καὶ ποιεῖ τι, followed by the more usual verb in § 21 πάντα τὰλλα' ἀφείλ. *ἀ*, followed by its antecedent ταῦτα.

10. ψηφίσσασθαι καὶ πράττειν: this has been the orator's constant advice for the past ten years, with an ever increasing emphasis on the call to *action* (Rehdantz).

§ 21. 11. σπουδῇ, 'serious question'; 23 § 1 *περὶ τούτου μὲν ἔστιν ἅπασα ἡ σπουδῇ*. A stronger term than βουλή, which is combined with it in 9 § 46.

12. ἐνδέκατον μῆνα τουτονί, 'for more than ten months'; from May 342 to the current month of March 341 B.C. (ASchaefer ii 448² n.). Cp. § 35 δέκα μῆνας. For the Acc. of duration of time cp. 3 § 4 τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τουτί.

14. περὶ ὧν (=τούτων *ἀ*): § 23 *περὶ ὧν φασὶ μέλλειν αὐτῶν ποιεῖν*, § 26 *ἀφ' ὧν ἀγείρει*, and 9 §§ 19, 31. In the Attic orators such attracted relative clauses are generally very short, seldom consisting of more than eight syllables excluding the relative. Here the relative clause is rather longer. Διοσιθέης of Sunium, who had been sent to the Chersonesus c. 343, at the head of a number of Athenian settlers (κληροῦχοι). See *Introduction*, and cp. 9 § 15, and the present speech *passim*. *πράττει* refers mainly to general *policy* and *ποιεῖν* to particular *acts*. See note on 4 § 5.

16. τούτων, followed by the less emphatic αὐτῶν (18). κατὰ τοὺς νόμους goes with καλᾶν, but is placed for emphasis at the beginning of the clause. *ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔστιν*, 'it is in your power'; § 55; 9 §§ 7, 8; 4 § 32. For the sense cp. § 28.

17. κἄν ἤδη—ἡγοῦμαι: this is the apodosis of the sentence, and the constr. is ἡγοῦμαι ἐγχεῖν (ὑμῖν) σκοπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ (ἤδη), *ἀν ἤδη δοκῇ, καὶ (ἐπισχοῦσιν), ἀν ἐπισχοῦσι (δοκῇ σκοπεῖν)*. καὶ . . . καὶ practically equivalent to 'either . . . or.' κἄν is repeated thrice in a series of alternatives in 2 § 21, four times in 4 § 19, and five times in 23 § 50. ἤδη contrasted with ἐπισχοῦσιν ('after delay'), which agrees with ὑμῖν implied in the preceding δοκῇ. In Herod. viii 100 *εἰ μὲν νυν δοκέει* is similarly contrasted with *εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν*.

19. οὐ πᾶν: an ironical equivalent to οὐδαμῶς, 'not at all'; see 3 § 21.

20. ἰσχυρίζεσθαι, 'to argue (the point) strongly'; 'to contend.'

§ 3 l. 21. ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων: Philip 'our standing enemy,' 'our real foe,' in contrast to our fellow-citizens, whom we may punish when we please. *δυνάμει πολλῇ*, 'accompanied by a large force'; the associative form of the instrumental Dat., as in 9 § 48, and Xen. *Hell.* iii 5, 9 ἀφικόμενοι πολλῇ δυνάμει. Here it is to be taken with *ἔν*.

22. προλαβεῖν, 'to seize' before we can prevent him, to surprise; 3 § 16; 4 § 31; 19 §§ 38, 79, etc. *καὶ* = *καὶ* (*ἔτα*), *ἔν*.

23 f. περὶ τούτων δ(ε): the resumptive use of δέ ('in apodosis'), repeating the δέ after εἶσα (20). Cp. 21 § 100 εἰ δέ τις . . τούτῳ δέ. In such cases δέ is placed immediately after an emphatic demonstrative and repeats the δέ of the preceding relative clause (Buttmann's *Midias* Exc. xii pp. 142-62; Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 529, 2). Similarly with μέν, as in 2 § 18 εἰ μὲν . . τούτους μέν.

24. οἶμαι is generally preferred to οἶμαι, when it is the principal verb of the main sentence, as opposed to the verb of a merely parenthetical clause, e.g. (ὥς οἶμαι). *τὴν ταχίστην* with *παρεσκευάσθαι* in 1 § 2; cp. *τὴν πρώτην* (4 § 23; 3 § 2), and *τὴν ἄλλαν* (3 § 21).

25. βεβουλεύσθαι . . παρεσκευάσθαι: the emphatic perfects mark the orator's impatience, and imply a call to prompt and decisive action. See 4 § 19 δεδοχθαι . . παρεσκευάσθαι.

26. περὶ τῶν ἄλλων = περὶ ὧν Διοσίθεσι πράττει (13). *θορυβοῖς*, 'clamours,' instrumental Dat. For the order of words cp. 6 § 37 μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας.

27. ἀποδρᾶναι, 'to run away'; virtually passive in sense, 'allow one's self to be driven away, drawn aside, or diverted' e.g. from an important position by a false alarm in another direction.

§ 4 ll. 28 f. πολλὰ—τεθαύμακα: 20 § 143 πολλὰ δὲ θαυμάζων Λεπτίων . . , ἐν μάλιστα τεθαύμακα πάντων, εἰ . . , 18 § 291 πολλὰ . . καὶ ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ . . , μάλιστα ἐθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτε . . Here τεθαύμακα has for its Object the following relative clause.

29. οὐδένος ἦσαν, 'less than nothing,' the usual Greek equivalent for 'more than anything'; cp. 1 § 9 οὐδένος ἑλάντων.

19 § 116. The positive form familiar in English is rarely found in Greek, cp. 19 § 35 *πραστέροις* . . *τινός* (with Shilleto's note), and 21 § 66 *ἀμεινον* . . *τινός*. In 23 § 82 *οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ τινας ἦγον* = *οὐδενός ἦγον*, and in 22 § 78 (= 24 § 186) *ἐλαττον τίνος*; = *οὐδενός ἐλαττον* = *πάντων μείζον*.

30. *καὶ πρῶν*, 'quite lately.' *ἤκουσ'* *εἰπόντος*: Goodwin *NT*. § 884.

31. *ἐν τῇ βουλῇ*: the sittings of the Council were open to the public, 19 § 17 *τὸ βουλευτήριον μετὸν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν*; and speeches delivered there might be vaguely described as delivered *παρ' ἡμῶν* (29). We cannot assume that Dem. was a member of the Council in this year (July 342–July 341). He was certainly a member in 347–6 (18 §§ 25, 28; 19 § 154; cp. 21 § 111 *βουλευέμενον λαχόντος*). It was legally possible to be a member of the Council twice, and we know of one certain case of such reappointment (see note on Aristot. *Const. Ath.* 62 § 3 *ἔξισι* . . *βουλευσάμενος*). Besides this, Androtion was a member in 356–5 (22 § 38) and apparently also in 347–6 (inscr. in Dittenberger no. 101). *ὡς ἄρα*, §§ 57, 73; 9 § 47.

32. *ἀπλῶς* belongs to both clauses *πολεμεῖν* and *τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν* (cp. 36). *τὴν εἰρήνην*, 'the existing peace,' the Peace of Philocrates.

§ 5 l. 33. *ἔστι δέ* (that may sound very plausible) 'but the fact is.' In apposition to this we have a sentence with no connecting particle to introduce it: *εἰ μὲν*—, *ἀπλῶς εἰρήνην ἀκτέον* (37).

EMüller agrees with the above rendering, but holds that the sense is incomplete. Halm (*Comm.* 699) disapproves of understanding *εἰρήνην ἄγειν*, and himself prefers taking *ἔστι δέ* with *ἀκτέον*, but this is too remote. Dobree proposes *ἔστω δὲ*, accepted by Rosenberg (1883). *ἔστι δέ οὕτως* or *τοιόνδε τι* might be suggested; (*νόμον*) *τοιόνδε* introduces a proposed form of words in 24 § 73.

35. *συσκευάζεται πάντας ἀνθρώπους*, 'is banding together a world of enemies'; 19 § 303 *συσκευάζεσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Πελοπόννησον Φίλιππον βοῶν*. (36) *ἐφ' ἡμᾶς*: 6 § 33.

37. *εἰρήνην ἀκτέον*: 19 § 94 *ποιεῖν εἰρήνην*, 2 § 13 *πολλὴν μετὰ στασιν δεκτέον*. See note on 5 § 23 l. 190. *τά γε* (*εἰ*)—*ὅρῳ*, 'I see every readiness on your part' (cp. § 53 *τά γε ἂν ὑμῶν ὑπάρχει*), *γέ* adding a touch of sarcasm. 'There is a biting sarcasm in these words' (says Brougham); 'but the tone is purposely subdued, and as inoffensive as possible.' *ἔτοιμ(α)*: Eur. *Tro.* 74 *ἔτοιμ' ἂν βούλει τὰ π' ἐμοῦ*.

38. *εἰ*, 'if,' as is the *fact*. *ἐφ' οἷς*, 'the terms on which,' 6 § 28.

39. τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαμεθα, 'we made the Peace' (on our behalf). 19 § 133 (of Philip) ποιούμενος εἰρήνην, and § 93 εἰρήνην ἡμᾶς ἐπειθον ποιήσασθαι . . ἤγαγον οὗτοι δεῦρο τοὺς ποιησόμενους τὴν εἰρήνην. ἔστ' ἰδεῖν κτλ. : the terms of treaties were engraved on tablets of stone and placed in public on the Acropolis and elsewhere. (40) καίται, 'are set up.'

§ 6 l. 42. κληροδόχους : οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεμπεύον ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, δι' ἐλάμβανον, κλήρους ('allotments') ἐκδότας διανεμοῦντες (Harpocr.). Here, the Athenian settlers sent to the Chersonesus 343, under the leadership of Diopieithes. πεποινηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον, 'to have caused or given rise to (been the prompters and originators of) the war'; not 'to have made, or carried on, the war': cp. §§ 7, 56 and 9 § 6. 'To carry on war' is πόλεμον ποιεῖσθαι, Isocr. 6 § 51 : cp. § 2 (στρατείας) ποιεῖται.

43. πολλὰ : e.g. Halonnesus.

44. ἐπερ (= περ) ὅν : to be taken closely with ἐγκαλοῦντα, 'of which you still complain in these unrepealed resolutions' (K). (45) κύρια (ἐστὶ), 'are ratified and confirmed,' '(still) in force.' ταῦτ' implies that the orator has copies of the decrees before him, either actually or in imagination. Among them may have been the decrees proposed by Hegesippus for the amendment of the terms of the peace, [7] §§ 18 f.

45. πάντα . . τὸν χρόνον, not only before 343, but continuously from the date of the Peace (346) to the present day (341).

47. ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευαζόμενος (35). τί . . λέγουσιν; the beginning of the apodosis; 'what do they mean by saying?' lit. 'what is this (that) they say?' 9 §§ 16, 23, 29.

§ 7 l. 48. οὐ γὰρ αἰρεσις . . τοῦ πράγματος ('in the matter'). Similarly in 351, 4 § 9 οὐδ' αἰρεσις ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ εἶναι ἡσυχίαν.

49. ὑπολείπεται κτλ. : 9 § 8 τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνεσθαι; (50) ἔργων, 'acts' in the sense of 'duties.'

51. ὑπερβαλόντων, 'overlook,' 'pass over in silence'; 4 § 38.

53. πλὴν εἰ, nisi vero, 'unless indeed': 3 § 18; 21 § 158; 24 §§ 58, 67, etc. = εἰ μὴ. Both phrases are combined in the reading of some MSS, πλὴν εἰ μὴ. νῆ Δ(α) : here preceded by a variation on the usual ἀλλά (§ 9; cp. § 16).

ὃν ἀπέχεται τῆς Ἀττικῆς κτλ. : Philip sought to conquer Athens in Thrace, as Napoleon to conquer England in Egypt or Portugal . . Precisely the same arguments were used in our Parliament, to shew the necessity for continuing the French war, which Dem. here urges to alarm the Athenians against Philip (Kennedy).

§ 8 l. 56. ἐκ τούτων: 6 § 10; 8 § 53; 9 § 45; 'on these principles,' viz. Philip's holding aloof from Attica. (el) τὴν εἰρήνην ταύτην ὀρίζονται, 'if *this* is their definition (if *thus* they define) the peace.' Here the Predicate ταύτην is assimilated to the Subject εἰρήνην. In 9 § 9 (el δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει) the Subject ταύτην is assimilated to the Predicate εἰρήνην.

57. οὐδ' ὅσα . . ἀνεκτὰ . . ἀσφαλῆ, 'iniquitous, monstrous and perilous for Athens' (K); 'principles neither just in themselves, nor consonant with your honour (lit. 'not to be endured by you'), nor even consistent with your safety' (Brougham). The epitheta correspond respectively to the three principles of τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ καλὸν and τὸ συμφέρον.

59. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ(ά), *verum enimvero*; here (as in § 38) contrasted with μὲν (57), and used to introduce a still stronger argument than that of the previous clause. Cp. 4 § 38. ἑναντία — αὐτοῖς: constr. συμβαίνει αὐτοῖς λέγειν καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἑναντία ταῖς κατηγορίαις κτλ. Their assertions about Philip's acts are inconsistent with the charges which they bring against Diopieithes. If (as they seem to imply) Philip does us no wrong, so long as he does not invade Attica, then Diopieithes does no wrong, so long as he does not invade Macedonia, but is only 'aiding the Thracians' by making incursions into neutral territory.

61. τῷ μὲν Φ. is followed by τῷ Διοπίθει δ(έ), the latter order avoiding ◡◡◡ and hiatus.

62. ποιεῖν ἔξουσιν δώσωμεν: 6 § 33; 23 § 67 ἔξουσιν γέγραφε . . ποιεῖν. The articular Inf. is, however, preferred in 23 § 15 ἐξ. δίδόντες τοῦ πράττειν.

64. βοηθεῖν τοῖς Θραξίν: a euphemistic expression for invading a country conquered by Philip. ἔξισται, preferred to the use of ἐξείναι as an Inf. dependent on φήσωμεν in the following clause. ἧ=el δέ μή, as in 3 § 28.

§ 9 l. 65. ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία: 6 § 13. ταῦτα μὲν ἐξελγόνται (οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες): parataxis. The present clause states what is assumed as admitted and is virtually parenthetical. The next adds a new point. Thus it is the next clause alone which in sense belongs to ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία.

66. δεῖνὰ ποιεῖν δ(έ): cp. 6 § 3 οἷα ποιεῖ δ(έ). Here δεῖνὰ ποιεῖν is 'to do wrong,' 'give grounds for complaint' (as in § 28), not 'make an outcry' (as in Thuc. v 42 § 3). δεῖνὰ ποιεῖσθαι is 'to complain' in Thuc. vi 60 § 4, etc. περικέπτοντες, 'ravaging'; 9 § 22.

68. κατὰ γων τὰ πλοῖα: § 28; 5 § 25.

§ 10 l. 70. ὡς ἀληθές, 9 § 47; 20 § 32 (= τῷ ἀληθεῖ), explained in Plato *Protag.* 343 D by τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. See note on 4 § 27 l. 233. ἐπὶ (6 § 12) πᾶσι δικαίοις (20 § 88), 'in perfect good faith'; lit. 'on grounds which are all of them just,' δικάιοις being virtually the Predicate.

73. τὸν ἐφεσθηκότα καὶ πορίζοντα χρήματα ταύτῃ (τῇ δυνάμει), 'the commander who maintains that force' (by raids, 4 §§ 23 f.).

75. δέξαι, dependent on οἶμαι δεῖν αὐτούς (70), and followed in indirect discourse by διαλυθησομένην. Cp. 29 § 5 where ἐπιδείξω is followed by 7 participles (Goodwin *MT.* § 904). The alliteration may be represented by 'prove the dispersion' or 'demonstrate the disbanding.' 'They are bound to shew you that *Philip's* army too will be disbanded'; this is one of the many instances of most chaste and refined sarcasm which we meet in Demosthenes, i.e. argument clothed in sarcasm of a subdued tone (Brougham).

76. σκοπεῖσθ' ὅτι, 'observe,' 'consider and see that.' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσειν ἤ: § 27; 9 § 2. The verb is omitted in 3 § 1.

78. δι' ὃ τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ' ἀπαντ' ἀπολώλεκεν, 'whereby it (ἡ πόλις) has ruined all its present interests.' The v.l. ἀπόλωλεν (4 § 46; 8 § 20) would mean 'all our present interests have been ruined.' ἀπολώλεκεν is here the reading of B. Conversely, in 19 § 173, ἀπαντ' ἀπόλωλεν is the reading of S and L, while ἀπολώλεκεν has far inferior authority. παρόντα is in either case peculiar, as the interests would cease to be 'present' as soon as they were ruined.

§ 11 l. 80. τῷ πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι γίνεσθαι: causal Dat. (Goodwin *MT.* § 709), as in 5 §§ 1, 21; 6 § 13. 'Owing to his being the first to arrive at the scene of action,' πρὸς with Dat. of proximity, as in 4 § 32.

82. δύναμιν συνεσθηκυῖαν, 'a standing army'; cp. §§ 17, 46 τὸ συνεσθηκὸς στράτευμα, and 4 § 32 συνεχεῖ παρασκευῇ. Xen. *Anab.* vii 6, 26 (of ἱππικὸν and πελταστικὸν) συνεσθηκός, 'well organised.' For the general sense of the context cp. 18 § 285.

83. ἐξαιφνης — πάρεστιν, 'pounces on whom he pleases in a moment' (K). (84) δέξῃ, sc. παρίνα. πάρεστιν, a verb of rest is here vividly combined with a preposition (ἐπὶ c. Acc.) implying movement (1 § 8).

84. ἐπειδὴν τυθόμενά τι κτλ.: 4 § 36. 85. τηρυκαῖα θορυβομένα, 'then (it is that) we begin to bustle,' 'to be troubled and disturbed,' the Passive of θορυβεῖν in its secondary

and transitive sense, as in 18 § 35 οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φιλίππον εἰσω Πυλῶν. The two tribrache in this sentence may perhaps be defended by the satirical character of the passage (see on 4 § 24).

§ 12 l. 86. εἴτ' οἶμαι συμβαίνει, 'the result (I presume) is': a slightly satirical use of οἶμαι as in 2 § 23 ἀλλ' οἶμαι καθήμεθα συμβαίνει: 6 § 4.

90. ἡδεσθῆναι: Middle. (91) ἐσπεύζοντας: Acc. (with Inf.) instead of Dat. agreeing with ἡμῶν (88). Thus in 47 § 5 ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπηλλάχθαι is followed by εἰσίδοντας. Similarly with Gen. in § 46, and 3 § 20. αἰσχύνην προσοφλισκάναν (4 § 42), 'in addition to our loss (ref. to δαπανήσμεν), we cover ourselves with disgrace.'

A modern parallel to the text is supplied by a passage in *The Times* for 11th Aug. 1898, on England's policy in China:—'The worst of it is that, while we have lost ground and allowed others to gain it, we have failed to conciliate our successful opponents. We have stirred up useless irritation and suspicion without any countervailing advantages of a solid character. We have reaped the ill results both of a policy of resistance and of a policy of acquiescence.'

§ 13 l. 94. τὰ νῦν (6 § 32). τάλλα . . ταῦτα, i.e. all the talk about Diopothēs (§ 2). λόγοι (emphatic) καὶ προφάσεις, 'mere words and pretexts,' 'mere talk and pretence'; 22 § 19; Lycurg. § 33; 20 § 101 λόγους καὶ φλυαρίας, 18 § 308 ῥήματα καὶ λόγους, cp. 22 § 73; 23 § 151; 30 § 34. Cic. in *Pisonem* 65 *verba sunt atque ineptiae*.

95. πρᾶττεται . . κατασκευάζεται: synonyms combined (as in § 43), here effectively contrasted with λόγοι and προφάσεις. Cic. *Verr.* II i § 31 *id agi, id cogitari, in eo laborari ut* . .

96. ὥπως with Ind. Fut. διουκῆσεται in Object clause after κατασκευάζεται τοῦτο (see 1 § 2); 'that, while you stay at home and our city has no soldiers abroad, Philip may with perfect security accomplish all he pleases.' In the original the sounds here seem an echo to the sense.

99. τὸ παρόν, placed *before* πρῶτον for emphasis: 'first consider what is actually going on.'

§ 14 ll. 100 f. ἐν Θράκῃ διατρίβει: Grote c. 90 (viii 181); ASchaefer ii 442-50².

102. οἱ παρόντες: Imperf., 'those who *were* present' at the time; 'eye-witnesses.' Sometimes taken with ἀπὸ Μακ., 'persons who are here from Mac.' (so Reiske and Rehdantz-Blass).

103. περιμένας τοὺς ἐτησίας: see note on 4 § 31 φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας.

104. **Βυζάντιον** : §§ 18, 66. In the Social War Byzantium had taken a leading part in the revolt against Athens. Nevertheless in 341 Dem. considered it essential to the interests of Athens and of Greece in general, that she should be protected against Philip in the event of attack (9 §§ 19 f.). The anticipation implied in *ἐὰν . . . πολιορκῇ* was fulfilled in 340, when Dem. succeeded in detaching the Byzantines from Philip and bringing them into alliance with Athens (18 §§ 87 f., 230).

πρῶτον μὲν : followed by *καὶ μὴν οὐδ(ε) in l. 117*, as elsewhere by *μετὰ ταῦτα δέ* (37 § 30) and *καὶ ἐτι πρὸς τοῦτω* (24 § 36).

105. **μένειν ἐπὶ c.** Gen. : 19 § 342 *ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἥσπερ νῦν ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀσελγείας μένει*. See on 4 § 7 *ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης . . . γενέσθαι γνώμης*, and § 9 *μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων*. *τῆς ἀνοίας*, the 'folly,' or 'infatuation,' of being ill-affected towards Athens. (106) *τῆς αὐτῆς*, exceptionally placed as in Thuc. v 115 § 1 *κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν αὐτόν*. *ὥσπερ* here follows *ὁ αὐτός*, as in 1 § 15 ; 4 § 39 ; 9 §§ 30, 33 ; it *precedes* in 4 § 21. *ὥσπερ* is preferred in § 18 ; 6 § 5 ; 19 § 342 ; 20 § 2.

106. **παρακαλεῖν** : *παρακαλέσκειν* MSS. 'Vivo Demosthene *παρακαλέσκειν* est forma barbari : καλῶ, ἑγκαλῶ, παρακαλῶ futuri formae sunt ut καλῶ, διεκαλῶ, γκαμῶ. Eadem est Codicis § ratio atque reliquorum omnium. Ubi non statim apparet futurum esse, formae antiquae salvae sunt ; ubi autem nulla est dubitatio quin sit futurum Graeculi suam *συνήθειαν* substituunt. Revoca igitur *παρακαλεῖν*' (Cobet AC. 465).

107. **βοηθεῖν** dependent on **ἀξιώσειν**. The v.l. **βοηθήσειν** (SL) was probably suggested by **παρακαλέσειν** (MSS) ; cp. Goodwin *MT*. § 136. Here, however, it is not *future*, but *immediate* help that is implied.

§ 15 l. 109. **εἰσφρήσεται** : *εἰσάξειν*, *εἰσδέξασθαι* (Harpocr.).

111. **μὴ δυναμένων** (conditional) — **ἀναπλεῦσαι** : owing to the trade-winds (4 § 31). **μηδεμιᾶς κτλ.**, conditional. (113) **ἑτοίμων** : fem. as in § 46. **ἀπολλέσθαι** : the Perf. implies *immediate* and *complete* destruction. Cp. 4 § 19.

§ 16 l. 114. **νῆ Δί(α)** : § 9 ; the following **γάρ** refers back to **οὐδὲν—καλύσει**. The alleged reason for expecting their doom is briefly and vividly put forward and as briefly and vividly refuted. Hermogenes (iii 296) describes as a *μέθοδος γοργότητος*, τὸ ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσι ταχείαις χρῆσθαι καὶ βραχείαις, ταῖς δὲ ἀντιθέσεσι ὡσαύτως (cp. 18 § 24 ; 4 § 44).

κακοδαίμονόσιν, 'are infatuated' ; (-οῦσι MSS). **κακοδαίμονων** (not **κακοδαίμονεων**) is the Attic form according to ancient Grammarians (Phrynichus, Thomas Magister and Phavorinus).

Verbs in -*ân* are used of mental and bodily affections (Lobeck, on Phrynichus p. 79 and Rutherford *New Phrynichus* pp. 153 f.).

κακοδαίμων *ân* dicuntur οὗς κακὸς δαίμων ἐλαύνει. . . Εὐσενσι κακοδαίμονες legitur in Aristophanis Pluto 372 et in Xenophontis Memorabilibus II 1, 5 τούτω παντάπασι κακοδαίμων ὄνός ἐστιν, et Dinarchus κατὰ Δημοσθένους § 91 εἰ ἐστὶ δαίτην πόλιν τὴν Δημοσθένους ποταμὸς ἀπολαύνει, ἰσα πλὴν κακοδαίμων ὤμεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχω τι ἄλλο εἰπεῖν), et κακοδαίμονία in Pluto 501 τίς ἂν σὺχ' ἦγοι? εἶναι μανίαν κακοδαίμονίαν τ' ἐστὶ μᾶλλον; (Cobet *MC.* 465). See note on 2 § 20 κακοδαίμονία.

115. ὑπερβάλλουσιν: intrans. ἀνόλ(105). (116) *σὺς* εἶναι: 5 § 17. συμφέροι: 19 § 75 (of the Euboeans) συμφέρον ἢ ὥς εἶναι τῇ πόλει, ὥσπερ Φωκέας νυνί. Byzantium was important to Athens because it commanded the trade-route by which vessels laden with corn reached Athens from the Euxine. An obvious parallel to the text may be found in England's motives for supporting the rulers of the modern Byzantium against the power of Russia.

118. εἴ(ε): [7] § 8. (119) ἐπιστολῆς: this letter is not extant. A plea for Philip's march through the Chersonesus may be found in the ἐπιστολὴ Φιλίππου, [12] § 16, but that letter, even if genuine, belongs to a later date (340 B.C.). ἡς: relative 'attracted' or 'assimilated' to the case of the antecedent. The relative remains unattracted in [7] § 27 τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἣν ἐπεμψε, and 8 § 8 ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἀς κατηγοροῦσι.

§ 17 ll. 120 f. *ân*—στράτευμα, 'if the army now formed (i.e. the troops under Diopiteithes) be actually in existence.' συνιστηκός: §§ 11, 46. ᾗ: in the strong sense, 'exist,' as in 6 § 15 (129); 9 § 56 δ' ἢ ἡ πόλις. τῇ χώρᾳ, the Chersonesus. The whole passage (120–139) is one of 'extraordinary force and rapidity' (Brougham).

122. τῶν ἐκείνου τι κακῶς ποιῆσαι: more general than τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν (1 § 17).

124. κρινόμεν: 2 § 25 κρινόντων. νῆ Δ(α): 16 l. 114. For other exx. of vivid suggestion and rapid refutation cp. 1 §§ 25 f. 125. τί, 'how?' lit. 'in what respect?' 20 § 145 τί γὰρ εἵνεκα τούτου βελτίων ἐσθ' ὁ νόμος, εἰ . . . ;

127. πνευμάτων: § 15 l. 111. μὰ Δ(α): only *apparently* negative; the negative is here (as often) expressed immediately afterwards, as in 15 § 13. The negative precedes in l. 141 and 14 § 38; and is placed before and after in 18 § 261. ἤξει (Φόλιππος).

128. τίς ἐγγυητής ἐστὶ τούτου; 'who is sponsor (or 'surety') for this!' 'who will insure, or guarantee, this?' § 49. Metaphor

from Attic law (30 § 32 *τούτων αὐτὸς ἐγγίγνεν ἐγγυητής* etc.), also found in Aristot. *Pol.* iii 9, 8 ὁ νόμος ἐγγυητής ἀλλήλοις τῶν δικαίων.

§ 18 l. 129. *τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔραν τοῦ ἔτους*, the approaching season of the year.' The mention of the trade-winds (of August and September) in § 14 shows that the season meant is not the winter, but the latter part of the summer. (130) *ἐς*. 'by,' or 'against,' which; 4 § 34 *ἐς τοὺς χρόνους βοηθεῖν*.

ἔρμον placed in emphatic position, while *ἐμῶν*, though dependent on it, is separated from it for the sake of a stronger contrast with *Φαλίππων*.

132. *τίς(ε)*: § 22. 133. *μηδὲ* (neither) . . *μηδέ* (nor): 9 §§ 19, 72.

133. *καὶ γάρ*: not *etenim haec*, but *nam etiam haec*, καὶ emphasising *ταῦτα*. 2 § 15; 4 § 11; 8 § 24; 9 § 14.

134. *Χαλκίδα*: on the Euripus, opposite Aulis. It was the only town in Euboea in which the Athenian party still held its own against the partisans of Philip; while Eretria (§ 36) and Oreos (§ 59) had recently joined the Macedonian interest.

Μέγαρ(α): in 343 Philip had sanctioned a sudden attack on Megara which had happily been repulsed by Athens (9 § 17).

135. *Ὀρεόν*: Oreos, in the N of Euboea, had been betrayed to Philip's partisans in 342 (9 §§ 59 f.).

136. *ἐνθάδε(ε)*: at Chalcis and Megara.

138. *ἐκεῖ*: in the Chersonesus.

138. *κατασκευάζειν ἐκεῖ—ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ*, 'find employment for him yonder.' *ἐγὼ μὲν*: without *δέ*, as in l. 107 and 3 § 8; 8 § 37.

§ 19 l. 141. *οὐ μὰ Δι(α)*: l. 127. (142) *βασκαίνειν*: § 22: 'use ill words of' (here 'disparage'), 18 § 189 ὁ δὲ *σιγήσας ἦν* 'εἰς λέγειν, ἀν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει, and 20 § 24.

144. *συνευποροῦντας—χρημάτων*: *εὐπορεῖν χρημάτων* (or *χρήματα*) has two senses, (1) 'have abundant supplies of money': (2), as here, 'to supply money' as in 33 § 7; 40 § 36; and 36 § 57 *χρήματα* . . . *προσηγορηκώς*. 3 § 19 *εὐπορήσαι τῶν ἀπόντων* is ambiguous.

145. *τάλλ(α)*, 'in other respects.' *οἰκείως*, 'as friends.'

§ 20 l. 148. *τοὺς ὁποιουσιν αὐτοῦν*, 'whatever be their character' (as freebooters § 9). (*οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγω*): said by Dem., who admits their excesses; and not by the imaginary speaker of the rest of the sentence.

149. *εὐθεῖν*, 'thrive'; 18 § 286 *εὐθεοῦντων*, 19 § 231 *εὐθεῖσθαι* (all the exx. in Dem.).

150. εἰδοξεῖν: 20 § 142 εἰδοξεῖ, 34 § 40 εἰδοξώμεν (all the cxx. in Dem.).

151. δια-βαλλόντων, itself followed by the nearly synonymous κατηγορούντων, leads up to the corresponding pair of approximate synonyms δια-σπασθῆναι and δια-φθαρῆναι.

153. ταῦτα(α), 'the latter.' (153 and 155) εἴτα draws the inference; 1 § 24. ἃ Φίλιππος ἂν εἶξαιτο: the argument falls under the heading noted in Aristotle's *Rhet.* i 6, 20 ὅ οἱ ἐχθροὶ βούλονται . . τούτωντιον τούτω ὠφέλιμον φαίνεται. πράττουσιν, 'are bringing about.'

156. ἀπόλλωεν ἅπαντα: 4 § 46 τὰ δὲ πράγματα . . ἀπόλλωεν. τὰς and ἅπας far oftener come *before* the noun, pronoun, or verb. Here the postponement of ἅπαντα makes it specially emphatic (see LLForman in *Classical Review* x 106).

§ 21 l. 157. [ὑμᾶς] cannot be taken as the subject of ἐξετάσαι, as this is inconsistent with μετὰ παρησίας, which can only apply to the speaker himself. Nor can it well be taken as the Acc. of the person after ἐξετάσαι (though the verb sometimes has the double Acc., as in Xen. *Cyrop.* vi 2, 35; Plato *Gorg.* 515 B; *Laches* 189 D; Acc. c. Pass. 23 § 213); for this is inconsistent with the sequel, while it also deprives τὰ παρόντα πράγματα of its proper emphasis by making it a merely secondary Acc. Hence we must either omit ὑμᾶς, or accept the weakly-supported variant πρὸς ὑμᾶς. But both are equally awkward before ποιοῦμεν.

158. τὰ παρόντα πράγματα τῇ πόλει: for the order cp. 6 § 8.

159. The direct interrogative τί is here combined with the indirect ὅπως. ποιοῦμεν: more conciliatory than the obvious ποιεῖτε.

160. χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν: 4 § 7; 2 §§ 27, 30; in the form of a war-tax (εἰσφορά).

161. οὐτ' αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθαι (βουλόμεθα), the burden of almost all the speeches against Philip. οὐτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέχεσθαι δυνάμεθα, 'we cannot bring ourselves to abstain from (selfishly appropriating what are really) the public funds.' The reference is to the funds which were squandered in 'theoric' doles, instead of being used for the purposes of war. Cp. 1 § 19; 3 § 11. (The Dionysiac festival in the spring of 342 seems to have been specially splendid. The Council of that year was complimented and honoured with a golden crown, ἐπειδὴ . . καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐτεμελήθη τῆς εὐκοσμίας τοῦ θεάτρον Dittenberger 333, note 15.) This abuse was ultimately stopped by Dem. in 339. 160-77; 'one of the finest passages in this or in any of the Orations'

(Brougham, who on p. 200 compares the speech on the conduct and consequences of the War, delivered by Fox in the debate on Parliamentary Reform in 1797).

162. τὰς συντάξαις: here and in l. 175 'the covenanted allowances,' a more delicate word than *μισθοί* (L & S, following Reiske and GHSchaefer); elsewhere (as in 5 § 13) applied to the 'contributions' made to Athens by her allies under the second confederacy.

§ 23 l. 163. ὅς' ἄν—*πορίσῃται*: see note on 4 § 24 τοῖς φίλοις *νικᾷ*.

164. *βασκαίνωμεν* (143): here absolute, 'grumble,' 'grudge' him the supplies which he gets by his own enterprise. It may be taken closely with *καὶ σκοποῦμεν* 'we inquire in a grudging spirit,' *ἐν δὴα θυοῖν*.

165. *πῶθεν*: sc. *πορίσεται* (Weil), 'how he got them.' Others take it with *μᾶλλον ποιεῖν*, quoting 23 § 209 *ἀμα δεῖ τι ποιεῖν καὶ πῶθεν οὐκ ἔχετε*. But the Athenians are represented as grumbling at the depredations of Diopieithes (§ 9), and not as inquiring about the source from which the means for his future enterprises are to be supplied.

166. *ἐπειδήπερ*, 'since (or 'although') really': an emphatic form of *ἐπειδή*, either *causal*, as here and 4 § 7; 15 § 21; 19 § 29; 23 §§ 25, 58; or *temporal*, 'when once,' as in 20 § 60; 36 § 48; 39 § 6. (See Dean Merivale's *Autobiography* pp. 42 f.)

166 f. τὰ ἡμέτερά αὐτῶν πράττειν, 'mind our own business'; *ἡσυχάζειν καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμασιεῖν περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡγεμονίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων* (Schol.). [10] § 72 τὸ τὰ αὐτῆς πράττειν. To be consistent, we ought to confine ourselves to our domestic interests, and refrain from an 'imperial policy'; but, as a matter of fact, while we applaud speeches worthy of the position of Athens abroad, as soon as it is a question of *action*, we agree with those who oppose that policy.

169. τοῖς ἐναντιούμενοις: masc. dependent on *συναγωνιζόμεθα*, and itself governing *τούτοις* (= τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀξία λέγουσι). We here have three successive datives with three different constructions.

§ 23 l. 171. τὸν παρίοντα, 'the speaker'; see on 1 § 8 l. 64. Brougham notices the refined and almost playful wit of this passage:—'if you will be always asking us orators, whose business is with *saying*, to tell you what you are to *do*; why, really, we must needs turn the tables upon you, whose business is with *doing*, and ask you to tell us, what we are to *say*.'

173-7. *εἰσέλευσθε—ἐβλήσθε*: cp. 160-64, 167. The main

variation is (176) *ἔσπετε* (sc. *πορίσασθαι*), instead of *ἐπαινεσθε* corresponding to *ἐπαινοῦμεν* (164).

177. *εἰ δ' ἄρα* (here admitted by conjecture for *εἰ γάρ* or *οὐ γάρ*) occurs nineteen times in the *Index*: to 'Dem,' e.g. 14 § 34; 15 § 27; 16 § 18. The ordinary text *οὐ γάρ*—*διδόντες* (SL, retained by Westermann, Weil, and Rehdantz-Blass), involves an anacoluthon. It implies that the orator is on the point of closing with a severe remark on the conduct of Athena, when he suddenly pauses and adds *τί ἂν τις λέγοι*; The use of the participle saves the sentence from beginning with the same words as the previous sentence (*εἰ γάρ*), but this repetition may be avoided by accepting *εἰ δ' ἄρα*.

179. *περὶ ὧν* (= *τούτων* δ) *φασὶ*: see § 2 ll. 14 f. *περὶ ὧν ἂν φασὶ* (the reading of most mss) is retained by Voemel, Westermann, and Weil; Voemel taking *ἂν* with *μέλλειν* (indirect for *ἂν μέλλοι*), and comparing with the latter of *βοῦλοντ' ἂν ἐργάζεσθαι* in Xen. *Vect.* 4, 22. But, if *ἂν* is retained, we should require *φῶσι*. For *ὧν* followed by *τούτων* cp. § 17.

§ 24 l. 182. *ὅ τι δύναται ταῦτα ποιεῖν*, 'the probable effect of this conduct' (K). *ταῦτα* is best taken, not as the Subject of *δύναται*, but as the Object of *ποιεῖν*, lit. 'what is meant by doing these things,' 'the real meaning of this conduct.' This is confirmed by (204) *οὐδὲν . . ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες. ἐνίοις ὑμῶν*, 'some of you,' who, without actually belonging to the peace-party of Eubulus, are not sufficiently alive to the machinations of Philip.

Halm (*Comm.* 696) agrees with Döderlein in objecting to the ordinary punctuation of this passage, there being no reason for the orator's wishing to instruct only a *few* of his audience. He further objects to *ὅ τι ποιεῖν ταῦτα δύναται* being used for *ὅ τι τοῦτο δύναται* (Dobree, comparing § 57, had already suspected *ποιεῖν*, but it is defended by l. 204). Halm hesitates to follow Döderlein in the punctuation *ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν, μαθεῖν δεῖ*. *ὑμῶν* he thinks might easily have been interpolated as soon as *ἐνίοις* got connected with *μαθεῖν*. In any case he considers the meaning to be: 'It is worth while to know the real import of this course of action on the part of certain persons.'

183. *μετὰ παρησίας*: § 21. *καὶ γάρ*—*δυναμὴν* = 25 § 14.

185 f. *ἥ (61) 'γὼ πάσχειν ὀτιοῦν τιμῶμαι*: 4 § 29 *ἐγὼ πάσχειν ὀτιοῦν ἔτοιμος. τιμῶμαι*, a metaphor from the procedure of the Attic law-courts, in which the person accused had the right (if condemned) to propose a penalty to which he was ready to submit. Aeschin. 2 §§ 5, 59, 159 *θανάτου τιμῶμαι*. The *δικασταί* are said *τιμᾶν*, the parties to the cause *τιμᾶσθαι*.

186. *Χίλων*: Thuc. viii 45 § 4 *πλουσιώτατοι ὄντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων*.

187. Ἐρυθραίων : Erythrae was an Ionian town on the coast of Asia Minor, opposite Chios.

188. τούτων, in explanatory apposition to the preceding Genitives, and agreeing with them; uninfluenced by λέγω, cp. 1 § 27. This liberty is not allowed with *dico*. χρήματα λαμβάνουσιν : 2 § 28; 4 § 24 l. 210.

§ 25 l. 159. λαμβάνουσι : the preceding verb is here satirically resumed in the sense of 'taking' rather than that of 'receiving.' The satire is continued in the sequel with its reference to the interested motives which inspire these 'gifts.'

191. τὰ μικρά and τὰ πολλά : the Article refers to δάπτονα and πλεόνα respectively.

193. ἀνούμενοι : c. Inf., as in 9 § 9. μὴ συλῶσθαι : 2 § 28 τὰ πλοῖ' ἀ συλῶσιν. παραπέμπεσθαι, 'to be conveyed.' τὰ τοιαῦτα = καὶ τὰλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα. 9 §§ 39, 49, 52, 54; 1 § 9 . . τὰλλα. Similarly in Lat. *cetera*, not *et cetera*.

196. εὐνοίας, 'benevolences' (Pl. as in § 70 φιλανθρωπίας). Thus in *Lysias* 30 § 50 it was stated that Diotimus, an Athenian commander engaged in the Hellespont in 388 B.C., had received a surplus of 40 talents, παρὰ τῶν ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐμπόρων.

In English history the term *benevolences* is often applied to the illegal contributions extorted by some of our kings from their subjects, under the guise of voluntary gifts. Such *benevolences* began under Edward IV, were abolished by Richard III, resumed by Henry VII and continued by Henry VIII and James I. The term was first used in this sense by Edward IV in 1473. It is in reference to this term that we read in *Holinshed's Chronicles* p. 1846, 1 that 'many with grudge gave great summes towards that newe found ayde, which of them might be called a *wailevolence*.' Edward IV 'called before him the merchants of London and requested from each a gift or *benevolence* in proportion to the royal needs,' *Green's History of the English People* p. 298; cp. pp. 325 (Henry VIII), 486 (James I), and 500 (the 'forced loans' under Charles I). It is only by an anachronism that Shakespeare uses the term in *King Richard II* ii 1250 'And daily new exactions are devised, As blanks, *benevolences* and I wot not what.' The play opens in 1398.

197. λήμματα : used of petty or unlawful gains, as in 2 § 28; 3 § 33; 5 § 12.

§ 26 l. 197. Διωπεῖσθαι dependent on δέσσεσθαι, not on δέλθω as well.

200. τὸν μήτε λαβόντα, 'one who has neither received' etc.

201. μισθοδοτήσαι : only used by Dem. in 15 § 32 and 23 § 142.

202. ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; 'from the skies!' i.e. are they to 'live on air'? οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλ(ά): § 46; 6 § 22.

203. ἀφ' ὧν . . ἀπὸ τούτων: cp. 6 § 17. 'From what he collects and begs and borrows.' Pollux iii 111 combines πτωχεύειν ἀγείρειν προσαιτεῖν. ἀγείρειν is sometimes specially used of begging priests. The terms are milder than Dem. might have used, τὸ μὲν ληστεύειν ἀγείρειν προσειπών, τὸ δ' ἀρπάζειν προσαιτεῖν καὶ δαεῖσθαι (Syrianus iv 507 Wals). Elsewhere the λαμβάνουσι of § 25 appears as ἄγουσι καὶ φέρουσι (23 § 61).

204. διαίγει (τὸν βίον), 'subsists'; 18 § 254.

§ 27 l. 205. ἐν ὑμῖν, 'before you'; 'in your assembly,' § 74; 3 § 10. προλέγουσιν, 'announce,' 'proclaim,' cp. 6 § 29; 9 § 14; and 9 § 13 πρόρρησις.

207. τοῦ μελλῆσαι: sc. ποιεῖν τι. Gen. of crime or charge. μῆ τι . . γ(ε) πάλιν; after positive, 'much more.' See 2 § 23. ποιήσαντι . . ἢ καταπραξάνῃ, 'having either done (any thing) or brought it about,' as 'principal' or 'auxiliary' respectively.

208. τοῦτ' εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι, 'this is what the following language comes to,' 'this is its real meaning,' § 57.

209. μᾶλλαι (§§ 2, 22, 23) πολιορκεῖν, 'he is preparing a siege!' The absence of an Object makes the charge all the more vague and mysterious. τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκδίδωσι, 'he is betraying (sacrificing) the Greeks' (of Asia Minor) to his soldiers, by allowing the latter to plunder them (4 § 24). τοὺς Ἕλληνας is taken by Blass alone with πολιορκεῖν. Benseler illustrates πολιορκεῖν by referring to Plut. Phocion 11, and understands ἐκδίδωσι of the alienation of the Asiatic Greeks from Athens and their consequent betrayal into the hands of Philip.

210. μᾶλιν, at the beginning of the retort, echoes μᾶλλαι at the beginning of the phrase to which it is a reply.

The text is cited by the rhetorician Tiberius (viii 556), by whom such a play of words is described as (in comparison with another type) an εἰς εὐχέλαιον παρονομασίας ἢ παρὰ γράμμα γίνεσθαι. It is regarded as a good example of pungent wit (δριμύτης) by other rhetoricians, and of bad taste (ὀυχρότης) by Hermogenes (iii 325). In 9 § 44 the 'vulgar' reading is ἐμῶν . . ἡμεῶν. The similarity of sound may be only accidental.

τινὶ τούτων, *cuidam ex istis*, spoken with some contempt. τῶν—Ἑλλήνων: Gen. after μᾶλιν. It seems better to treat the sentence as ironical than (with Blass) as interrogative.

211. ἀμείνους μὲντάν (= μέντοι ἀν)—κῆδεσθαι, 'they must surely

be apter to feel (lit. 'better at feeling') for strangers than for their own country.'

§ 28 l. 212. καί—τοῦτ' ἔστιν repeats τοῦτ' εἰσίν (208): 'this is also the meaning of the proposal to send another general,' nominally to keep him in check, but really to supersede him.

214. δανά ποιεῖ . . καὶ κατὰ γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα = ἀδικεῖ κατὰ γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα (§ 9).

215 f. μικρὸν—πινάκιον, 'a tiny—a very tiny tablet,' referring to the writing-tablet inscribed, not with the letter of recall, but with the formal terms of impeachment, as is proved by εἰσαγγέλλειν. τυχὸν πινάκιον λέγει εἰς δ' ἐγγράφεται τὰ κατὰ τῶν εἰσαγγελλομένων (Harpocr.). The document was itself called an εἰσαγγελία (Lycurg. 137; Hyper. pro Lyc. 3, 4; pro Eucl. 40). Reiske takes it to mean the 'letter of recall' and is followed by Brougham and Kennedy. Cp. Xen. Hell. v 2, 34 ἀρκέσει . . μικρὰ σκυτάλη.

217. λέγουσιν, 'enjoin,' 'prescribe.' ταῦτα: in emphatic position (as in 14 § 25; 57 § 65), dependent on ἀδικούντας.

εἰσαγγέλλειν: to 'denounce' or 'impeach,' by bringing before the ἐκκλησία. Among the cases in which this procedure could be applied was that of serious wrongs done to the state which required urgent remedy (ἐπὶ δημοσίοις ἀδικήμασι μεγίστοις καὶ ἀναβολὴν μὴ ἐπιδεχομένοις, Harpocr.), and the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός included in the list of crimes several which might be committed by a general in command:—ἐάν τις πόλιν τινὰ προδώῃ ἢ ναῦς ἢ πρεσβὴν ἢ ναυτικὴν στρατιάν (Hyper. pro Eucl. 8), ἢ ἐάν τις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνευ τοῦ πεμφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἀφικνῆται ἢ μετακτῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ στρατεύηται μετ' αὐτῶν ἢ δῶρα λαμβάνῃ παρ' αὐτῶν (Theophr. and Pollux). Cp. Hager on εἰσαγγελία in Smith's Dict. Ant. ed. 1890.

218. οὐ μὰ Δ' οὐ: § 19.

219. τοσαύταις implies that the opponents of Dem. had urged a larger expenditure and an addition to the number of vessels of war, the latter to be sent out with a new commander.

ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς (224) φυλάτταν, 'to keep watch on our own flesh and blood' in the persons of Diopieithes's soldiers; not 'to watch them ourselves' (Kennedy). τοσόνδε γί(ς): sending out a fresh force to keep watch on Diopieithes. The 'madness' consisted in proposing to use as a check on Diopieithes forces which might naturally be used against the enemies of Athens, while a much simpler procedure was available for impeaching and recalling an actual commander in

the Athenian service. This 'madness' may not have been so serious as Dem. asserts. Diopeithes, in defending the interests of the Athenian settlers in the Chersonesus, would naturally be supported by them, and accordingly might even have declined to obey a message of recall, unless it were backed by a show of military force. For τοῦτο followed by fem. noun cp. 25 § 19 ἔβρις γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο γε.

§ 29 l. 221. λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς νόμοις, 'to arrest in obedience to the laws,' § 32 l. 246 λήψεσθε.

223. χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν : § 21. δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, 'is right and (indeed) necessary'; the addition to δεῖ strengthens the statement and makes it a home-thrust against those who are remiss in opposing Philip.

224. ψήφισμα(α), 'the decree' of recall, later in order of time than the legal notice of impeachment (εἰσαγγελία), which is mentioned after it. παράλος, the state-galley built for speed and specially manned by sailors from the Paralia; used (like the Σαλαμῖνα in Thuc. vi 53 § 1 in the case of Alcibiades, and in Aristoph. *Aves* 147, 1204) to carry state dispatches and to summon state criminals to Athens.

225. ταῦτ' ἐστίν, 'are the same,' 'have the same effect,' in *this* case, as troops and triremes in the *other*. ταῦτ' ἐστίν (mss), 'have this effect,' the restraining effect above mentioned. εὖ φρονούντων, 'discreet,' 'sensible,' contrasted with μανίας (220).

226. ἐπηρεαζόντων, 'malignant,' 'spiteful.' In Aristotle's *Rhet.* ii 2, 4 ἐπηρεασμός is defined as ἐμποδισμός ταῖς βουλήσεσιν, οἷχ' ἵνα τι αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐκεῖνῳ. 18 § 12 ἐχθροῦ . . ἐπηρεῖαν.

§ 30 l. 228. δεινὸν δὲ οὐ δεινόν ἐστιν, 'bad though it be, is not the worst,' is not really so bad, in comparison with what follows. Cp. 9 § 55; 21 § 72; 23 § 163.

229. ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι : 6 § 3; followed by a slight pause before οὕτως.

230. ἀν . . τις εἴη . . , φητέ : Goodwin *MT.* § 462.

παρελθόν : note on 1 § 8. ὅτι (234) here introduces a direct quotation without any further change in the construction (Goodwin *MT.* § 711).

231. Χάρης : see notes on 4 §§ 24, 46; 2 § 28; Thirlwall c. 42 (v 213). Chares was in command during the Social War (356-5) and in the first and third of the expeditions sent to the relief of Olynthus (349-8), and was also repeatedly employed in Thrace (357, 353, 347-6, and at Thasos in 342). He was often accused for his conduct as a commander (Aeschin. 2 § 71), e.g. by Eubulus and Cephisodotus (Aristot. *Rhet.* i 15, iii 10),

and was threatened with a prosecution by Aeschines in 343 (19 § 332, an exceptionally complimentary reference to one whose general character was far from creditable).

Ἀριστοφῶν of Haezania, one of the envoys sent to Sparta in 412; prominent in Athens after the restoration of the democracy in 403, esp. 361-354. In 354 he was one of the defenders of the law of Leptines (20 § 146). At the present date (341) he was probably over 90 years of age. The text possibly refers to some complaints about his conduct as a commander in the early part of the war with Philip for the possession of Amphipolis (ASchaefer i 184², note 1).

232. τῶν πολιτῶν, emphatic; dependent on δν. φησὶ, 'assent'; 'cry αἶε' (247).

233. θορυβεῖθ' ὡς ὁρθῶς λέγει: 6 § 26.

§ 31 l. 233. δν . . λέγει τις . . , οὐχ ἔφετ' ἀντιλέγειν (238): Goodwin *MT.* § 444. (236) εἰ . . ἦεν, οὐδὲν δν ἦν

πρῶγμα (6 § 36), ib. § 410. (237) οὐκ ἀληθῆ introduced by ἀντιλέγειν, which (like ἀμφισβητεῖν) regularly retains the negative in the dependent clause (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 516, 3 b).

(238) ἀχθεσθαι δ' <δν> μοι δοκεῖτε: δν with Inf. after personal use of δοκεῖτε, = ἀχθοισθ' δν, ὡς μοι δοκεῖ, Goodwin *MT.* § 754. ἀχθεσθαι δοκεῖτε (without δν) would not correspond to the Fut. ἔφετε.

(239) ἀπολλύναι τι: they not only lose an illusion which is an excuse for inaction; but are also deprived of a convenient scape-goat.

§ 32 l. 241. τοῦ βελτίστου: 9 §§ 56, 63; Aeschin. 2 § 150 ἐνεκα τοῦ β. τῆς πόλεως, Deinarchus 2 § 17 ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ δήμου βελτίστων. παρηγσία: §§ 21, 24; 4 § 51 l. 462.

242. παρσκευάκασιν, 'have made' (as in 18 § 234 and κατασκ. in 20 § 158), here perhaps with conscious reference to its other sense, as applied to the παρσκευαί of war.

243. φοβερούς (1 § 28), here contrasted with εὐκαταφρονήτους. χαλεπούς, 'severe,' contrasted with ῥαθύμους, 'remiss,' 'easy-going.'

245. δν . . εἶπη and (247) δν . . λέγει, both followed by Present Indic., as in 232.

247. φησὶ (232). βούλεσθε, sc. λαμβάνειν.

(248) κρατήσαντας: Goodwin *MT.* § 836. (249) ἔστιν πολέσαι: ib. § 745. τί ποιήσετε: § 74 βουλευέσθε . . τί

χρήσεσθε, 4 § 33; indirect for τί ποιήσωμεν (cp. 3 § 6), ib. § 669, not for τί ποιήσωμεν (cp. 3 § 22). In the latter case, the Subj. would have been retained, ib. § 677. (250) ἐξέλγ-

χόμενοι (ib. § 881), sc. οὐχ ἔχοντες τί ποιήσετε.

§ 33 l. 250. ἐχρήν: cp. § 1 *ἐδε*. γάρ (v.l. *ἐδ*) introduces the reason for the previous criticism.

251. τοῦναντίον: Acc. in apposition to the sentence, §§ 50, 66; 3 § 31; lit. 'as a thing that is contrary,' hence 'in a way that is contrary,' to the present custom.

253-5. πρὸς—δίκαια, 'for, in those assemblies, are (discussed) the legal rights relating to yourselves and your allies.' τὰ δίκαια, 'pleas of justice,' 'arguments of right,' contrasted with ἀγών (258), 'the contest' of might.

255. ταῖς παρ. ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου (243): this order ensures for πολέμου a more emphatic position than ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου παρ.

256. φοβεροὺς καὶ χαλεποὺς (243): the latter is contrasted with πρᾶους (252), as in Plato *Tim.* 17 D. ἐπιδεικνύναι, 'show,' 'display'; Andoc. [4] § 11 (Alcibiades) ἐπιδείξας αὐτὸν φοβερὸν. ἀποδεικνύναι, 'prove,' has been suggested in its place. The text is more complimentary to the audience; their courage has not to be 'proved'; its existence is assumed; it has only to be 'displayed.'

257. ἐχθροὺς, *iniimicos*. ἀντιπάλους, *hostes*; added for symmetry of expression (ισόκωλον) with ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς and τοὺς συμμάχους. ἐκείναις κτλ., 'it is these (ταῖς παρασκευαῖς) that are concerned with the contest.'

The whole of the passage 230-258 includes striking instances of uniformity blended with variety. (1) *ἀν μὲν τις εἴπη παρελθὼν* (230) is varied by *ἀν δὲ παρελθὼν λέγῃ τις* (233). (2) *Διοσίθεος ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος* (230) by *πάντων τῶν κακῶν . . . Φίλιππος ἐστ' αἴτιος* (234). (3) *τῶν πολιτευομένων ἐνιοι* (242) by *ἅπαντας τοὺς πολ.* (251). (4) *φοβεροὺς καὶ χαλεποὺς* (243) by *ῥαθυμοὺς καὶ εὐκαταφρονήτους* (244). (5) *πρᾶους καὶ φιλανθρώπων* (252) by *φοβεροὺς καὶ χαλεποὺς* (256). The order of chiasmus or inverted parallelism is in all these instances preferred (Rehdantz).

§ 34 l. 258. ὑμᾶς: best taken as Acc. after *δημαγωγούντες*, 'flattering' (as in Xen. *Anab.* vii 6, 7 and Aristot. *Politics* 1312 b 12 *δημαγωγούντος καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ὁρμῶντος*); ὑμᾶς may be subsequently understood after *διατεθήκασιν*. It is sometimes taken after the latter alone. The participles *δημαγωγούντες* καὶ *χαριζόμενοι* are in that case independent of ὑμᾶς, and denote the means adopted to attain the result (Goodwin *MT.* § 835).

259. *διατεθήκασιν*: the form proved to be right by Attic inscriptions in which *τέθηκα* is found four times between 400 and 200 B.C., whereas *τέθεικα* (formed on the analogy of *έκα*) is

first found in the first century B.C. (Meisterhans, p. 152²). The right form is here preserved in two MSS only (O and Aug. 2).

260. ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις—κινδυνεύειν : repeated in 9 § 4. τρυφᾶν, 'give yourselves airs.'

261. πάντα πρὸς ἡδονήν, 1 § 15. Here πρὸς ἡδονήν ἀκούειν is the correlative to πρὸς ἡδ. λέγειν (or δημηγορεῖν 4 § 38). τοῖς πράγμασι, 'your public policy.' (262) τοῖς γυγνομένοις, 'in actual facts.'

263. φέρε : see note on 4 § 10 εἰπέ μοι. εἰ—ἔρουνθ' ὅμως κτλ. Here (as in §§ 20, 31) a vivid effect is produced by the orator's placing his own arguments in the lips of others. Cp. 18 § 40; 20 § 39; 23 § 106. The whole of this expostulation (says Brougham) is of the highest order of indignant eloquence.

§ 35 l. 265. ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι : wherever Dem. speaks in his own person, he always prefixes ὦ to this phrase. It is only at the beginning of a speech (20 and 32) or a sentence (56 § 37), that we find ὦ omitted before ἄνδρες δικασταί.

266. ὦς c. Acc. of Person, denoting motion towards, is found in the Orators with πέμπειν (ten times, e.g. 4 § 48), ἔρχεσθαι (21), πλείν (10), ἄγειν (10), also with ἔκειν, ἀφικνεῖσθαι, πρσβείναι, ἀποστέλλειν, ἰέναι, φοιτᾶν, βαίνειν, συλλέγεσθαι, τρέπεσθαι, κομίζειν, ἀκολουθεῖν and λαμβάνειν (ὡς αὐτόν). πρέσβεις : in 348 (19 § 10), 344 (6 § 19), and 343 (9 § 72).

268. φυλάττεσθαι : 5 § 17. 269. πάντα τὰ τοιαυτὰ : dependent on λέγετε, as in § 22. 270. φάσκειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν : here (as in l. 286 τί ἐρούμεν ἢ τί φήσομεν) two verbs are used, instead of one, to form an adequate apodosis to a long protasis.

271. εἰ(α) : after the immediately previous clauses, ἀνάγκη—ταῦτα, have been delivered in a subdued tone expressive of shame, the voice is now raised in resuming the interrupted quotation. φανότατοι, 'most pitiful.' δέκα

μήνας : referring to Philip's absence from home on his Thracian campaign ; cp. §§ 2, 44. (272) τάνθρώπου : quoting the

term used by the Athenians themselves (269). νόσῳ : similarly he had been ill during a former campaign in Thrace at the end of 352 (4 § 11 and 1 § 13). (273) χερῶν

(338). ἀποληφθέντος, 'prevented,' 'cut off,' from returning home. Thuc. ii 4 § 6 ἀπειλημμένος. ὥστε

μὴ εὐ δύνασθαι, 'so that he could not be able,' the Inf. with εὐ expressing the consequence in a potential form, corresponding either to οὐκ εὐ εἰδύνατο (εἰ καὶ ἐβούλετο), or εὐ δύναται εὐ (εἰ καὶ βουληθείη). Goodwin M.T. § 592.

§ 36 l. 274. *Εὔβοιαν*: the liberation of Euboea was accomplished in the following year, 340 B.C. (18 § 79).
(275) *τὸν ὑμετέρων*, e.g. Amphipolis. (276) *ἐκομίσασθε*: 4 § 7.

277. *ὑπαινόντων*: contrasted with *νόσῳ* (272), and bitterly used in the following parenthesis in its mental sense (9 § 20).
εἰ δὲ: Aeschin. 3 § 155 *ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα (εἰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ) στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος*.

279. *τυράννους*: 9 §§ 57-62; 18 § 71. *τὸν μὲν*: Cleitarchus of Eretria, 8 of Euboea and facing the coast of Attica. (280) *ἐπιτειχίσας*, (established . .) 'like a hostile fortress'; often used of *places* fortified as a menace to an adjoining country (see note on 4 § 5 *ἐπιτειχισμα*), or of an island so fortified, as Euboea in §§ 66, 71; here boldly used of a *person*. The metaphor is less bold in [10] § 8 *τυραννίδα ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιτειχισεν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Εὔβοιᾳ*.
τὸν δ(ε): Philistides of Oreos, at the extreme N of Euboea, opposite the Athenian island of Sciathos (4 § 32).

§ 37 l. 281. *ταῦτ' ἀπελίσασθε*, 'got rid of them' (menaces). Aor. followed by Perf. *εἰκάτε*, as in 22 § 70, Aeschin. 3 § 161. (The mark of interrogation was first suggested by Gebauer *de hypotacticis* p. x.)

282. *ἀφέστατε*—*αὐτῷ*, 'you have made way before him,' *cessistis ei*, 18 § 200 *ἀποστᾶσα τούτου* (the supremacy of Greece) *Φιλίππῳ*. *δῆλον ὅτι* (4 § 12) sufficiently denotes the inference here drawn without any conjunction being introduced to weaken the effect.

284. *δεκάκις ἀποθάῃ*: still more emphatic than the reference to Philip's illness (272); a rumour of his death is mentioned at an earlier date in 4 § 11. The collocation of six short syllables is very rare in Dem. *οὐδὲν μᾶλλον κινήσεσθε*, 'you would stir never a step the more' (K), 9 § 5. *οὐδὲν* echoes the previous *οὐδ(ε)*. *κινήσεσθε* keeps up the metaphor of *ἀφέστατε*.

285. *προσβείτε*, 'come as envoys' (18 § 221), the words being supposed to be addressed to the actual representatives of Athens. Stronger than *προσβείσεσθε* (16 § 1), 'send envoys,' though the latter may be supported by *πέμπετε*—*πρέσβεις* (266).

286. *ἂν ταῦτα λέγωσι* repeats in a more definite form *εἰ λόγον ὑμᾶς ἀπαιτήσεσιν* (263). *τί ἐροῦμεν ἢ τί φήσομεν*; 25 § 100; 'what should we answer' (in reply to these demands) 'or what shall we say' (in general). See note on *φάσκειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν* (270).

§ 38 l. 289. *εἰς τούτων κτλ.*: here, as often in the present

speech (§§ 4, 9, 52, 68, 73), the orator quotes one or two brief phrases from his opponents with a view to refuting them (see further in Spengel's *Demeg.* p. 81). : *ἐξελέγχειν*, 'confute.' Instead of answering the orator's question, 'what shall we say?' they ask another, 'what must we do?' This type of rejoinder has already been partially met in § 23.

293. *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ* (59), 'however.' (294) *ὅπως*—*θελήσουσιν*, 'I trust they will prove as willing to act as they are ready to ask questions.' *ὅπως* is here used with the *independent* Fut. Ind. to express an exhortation, as in nine other passages in Dem. (note on 4 § 20 *ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε*). The third person is less frequent than the second (Goodwin *MT.* § 275).

§ 39 l. 297. *γνώμαι* depends, like *μη ποιῆν* (292 f.), on *χρή* (291).

298. *τὴν εἰρήνην*: the Peace of 346, which had practically been broken by Diopeithes, as well as by Philip, without any formal declaration of war on either side (§ 58).

301. *ἰδᾶμαι*, 'even to the very ground or foundation of Athens.' Dem. assumes that Athens (like Olynthus) would be razed to the ground by Philip, if he could give effect to his animosity against her (§ 60 *ὅπως ἀνελθῆν*). Cp. Thuc. iii 68 § 3, etc. *καθελεῖν εἰς ἔδαφος*, Aeschin. 3 § 134 *περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους (ἀγωνίζεσθαι)*, Lycurg. 144, Deinarchus 1 § 99, Dem. [26] § 11.

§ 40 l. 301. *τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις*: even including Philip's partisans, who (it is implied) will be sacrificed, when he has reaped the fruits of their treachery (18 § 47). The text is needlessly regarded as an anticlimax by Brougham ('since no doubt he who was hostile to the very ground must be so to the inhabitants'): to the audience Philip's hatred of every one of them would seem even more serious than his hatred of the soil of their city. In [10] § 11 *ἀνθρώποις* is altered into *θεοῖς* *ὡς περ αὐτὸν ἐξολέσειαν*.

303. *εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύουσιν ἐμοὶ ταῦτα φάσκοντι* (Reiske), or *τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῖς γινώσκουσι* (Weil). Cp. § 8 § 7.

σκεψάσθων: the true Attic form for *σκεψάσθωνσαν* 'forma Macedonica et a Demosthene et popularibus prorsus aliena' (Cobet *MC.* 466). Cp. *χρήσθων*, *λύεσθων*, *δικάζεσθων*, *ἀφαιρέσθων*, *ἐπιμελεῖσθων*, *παρὰ κληθήσων* (Kühner-Blass *Gr. Gr.* i ii § 211 p. 62).

304. *Εὐθυκράτη καὶ Λασσθῆν*: 6 § 21; 9 § 66; 19 §§ 265, 342.

306. *πάντων κάκιον ἀπολέσων*, 'are sunk to the most abject state, not 'put to death,' but utterly 'ruined' (as in 19 § 107 *δικαίως ἀπολλύεται κρίνεται*, and § 90 *ἀπόλωλε καὶ γέγονε θάνατον*).

cp. 3 § 12 note). Euthykrates, at any rate, survived the battle of Chaeroneia (338 B.C.); Hypereides fragm. 80 (79). Both were outlawed at Athens (19 § 267), and Lasthenes is named among those who were *ελαυνόμενοι* and *ὕβριζόμενοι* (18 § 48). It was Lasthenes and his friends who complained to Philip that people at his court called them 'traitors': Philip archly replied that the Macedonians were stupid and boorish people, who had a way of 'calling a spade a spade' (Plut. *Mor.* 178 B). Cp. Thirlwall v 316; Grote c. 88 (viii 96 f.).

307. οὐδέν, neuter as in l. 79. τῇ πολιτείᾳ, 'our (free) constitution,' cp. § 43.

308. οὐδ' ἐπιβουλεύει: best taken with καὶ σκοπεῖ, not with πολεμεῖ. οὐδέ repeats the previous οὐδ(ε).

§ 41 l. 310. τοῦτο—πράττει, 'this policy of his is in some sort natural.' τρόπον τινά (6 § 17) modifies εὐκρίτως, 'reasonably,' 'logically,' 'consistently' (from Philip's point of view), cp. § 42 οὐ κακῶς ταῦτα λογιζόμενος. οὐδέν . . ἀκριβῶς (see note on 5 § 4 l. 24).

312. οὐδέν echoes the previous οὐδ(ε). ὥς ἄν, with Pres. Subj. 'so long as,' 2 § 21 (τέως ἄν MSS); 9 §§ 13, 69; 14 § 30; 19 § 14; 20 § 64. With Aor. (rarely with Pres.) Subj., 'until,' as in 2 § 31; 9 §§ 10, 17; 19 § 50; 20 § 167.

314. πταῖσμα: 2 § 10; *Er.* 3 § 18 κἀν τι συμβῇ χαλεπόν, followed by κἀν τι γένηται πταῖσμα. 2 § 20 εἰ δέ τι πταίσῃ, 18 § 286 ἐν οἷς ἐπταίσεν ἡ πόλις. ἃ πολλὰ γένοιν' ἄν, 'one of those reverses which' . . πταῖσμα, viewed collectively, is here

followed by Pl. So often in Homer, e.g. *Il.* xiv 410 χερμαδίῳ, τὰ ῥα πολλὰ . . ἐκυλινδετο, and *Od.* v 438; also Eur. *Orest.* 920 αὐτοῦργος, οἵπερ καὶ μόνον σφύσονται γῆν, and Lysias 1 § 32 γυναικα, ἐφ' ὅσπερ ἀποκτείνειν ἐξεστίν. πολλὰ δ' ἄν γένοιτο, in [10] § 13, is more regular; cp. 18 § 236 πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, and § 308.

314. ἤξει πάντα τὰ νῦν συμβεβιασμένα κτλ., 'all the various elements, which are now under restraint, will come and seek refuge with you.' The neuter pl. may here be used personally, as in one of the interpretations of 4 § 8, q.v.

§ 42 l. 316. ἰστέ γάρ—εὖ πεφυκότες: the masterly sketch of the Athenian character drawn by Thucydides in i 70, here has some fresh touches added to it by Demosthenes in the light of the intervening history of Athens. The Athenians, in their public acts, were influenced not only by their personal character, but also by the fact that they were a maritime power and above all a democratical people. Democracy itself is not generally enamoured of an imperial policy and an extended dominion;

but it will make considerable efforts in promoting the cause of constitutional liberty beyond its own borders. 'No Republic,' says Merivale (*Letters* p. 301), 'ever yet kept an Empire.'

317. εἰ πεφυκότες: c. Inf., as in 2 § 26 and Isaeus 1 § 13 ἐν αἷς ἅπαντες πεφυκαμέν ἀμαρτάνειν. Possibly the infinitives in the rest of the sentence may be regarded as dependent on this phrase, and δεῖναι and τρομεῖν omitted (so Blass).

320. εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξελίσθαι, 'rescue (and restore) to liberty.' Under Attic law a free citizen, who desired to aid a reputed slave in recovering his rights as a freeman, claimed those rights in his behalf. The assertion of this claim was called *ἐξαιρείσθαι* (or *ἀφαιρείσθαι*) *εἰς ἐλευθερίαν* (= *in libertatem vindicare*). These are synonymous terms. In Lysias 23 § 9 we have *ἐξαιρήσοιτο εἰς ἐλευθερίαν*, followed in § 10 by *ἵνα εἰδείην τὸν τ' ἐξαιρησόμενον αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ τι λέγων ἀφαιρήσοιτο*. Cp. Isocr. 12 § 97 τοῖς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς οὐκ ἐτάς *εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρουμένοις* κτλ., and 17 § 14 ἀφαιρεῖτ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἐλευθέρων ὄντα . . . τοῦτον ἐξαιρούμενος *εἰς ἐλευθερίαν καὶ κωλύων βασανίζεσθαι*. Both words occur in the text, and both in the MSS at this point. Cp. Meier u. Schömann *All. Process* pp. 758 f., ed. Lipsius, and Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, s.v. *ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη*.

εἰς ἄλ., implies the *transfer* (from slavery) into liberty.

321 f. τοῖς αὐτοῦ καιροῖς (3 § 7) τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν (6 § 34) ἐλευθερίαν ἐπεδρεῖν (5 § 15): i.e. that the spirit of freedom, which proceeds from you, should keep a watch on (be lying in wait for) the moments of his peril.

323. οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, 'no, far from it!' οὐδέ, while closely combined with πολλοῦ δεῖ, emphatically repeats the preceding negative οὐκ οὖν. Dem. is the only classical writer who uses this phrase (see note on *Lept.* § 20). ἀργῶς, 'idly,' 'rashly,' 'superficially,' Xen. *Occ.* 15 §§ 1, 6 ὁ ἡμῖν ἀργότατα ἐπιτεδράμμηται τῷ λόγῳ.

324. λογιζόμενος: the Participle added to characterise the preceding statement, as in 29 § 13 ψευδόμενος, and Xen. *Occ.* 16, 2 ὁρθῶς γε ταῦτα λέγοντες (cp. note on 1 § 28 καλῶς ποιοῦντες).

§ 43 l. 324. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ resumes πρῶτον μὲν in § 39. τοῦτο, explained by ὑπεληφέναι; cp. § 72; 9 §§ 9, 23.

325. καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας: added to emphasise τῆς πολιτείας (cp. § 40).

330. κατασκευάζεται, *machinatur*, 'contrives' (90; 2 § 6).

(331) παρασκευάζεται, *comparat*, 'prepares.' The former often implies fraud and cunning: the latter is here a more general term, repeating all that is necessary of the preceding special term.

§ 44 l. 332. οὕτω . . . δὲ : 1 § 15 οὕτως εἰρήθης . . . ὅστις.

334. τῶν ἐν Θράκῃ κακῶν, 'those miseries in Thrace' (Kennedy): *Armseligkeiten* (Jacobs). κακῶν is open to suspicion; it is hardly natural to apply the term to a number of wretched villages; and it is not enough to say (with Weil) that it is contrasted with the ἀγαθὰ of § 45, namely the harbours etc. of Athens. What is wanted is some concrete term which admits of being contrasted with the concrete terms which follow, λιμένων, νεωρίων, κτλ. The need for some such alteration as κομυδίων or πολυχύλων, is implied by Ireland's 'paltry villages' and Brougham's 'miserable villages' (see critical note).

τί—εἴποι . . . ; 'what else could one say of (=call) . . . ?'

335. Δρογγίον, a 'place in Thrace' (Hesychius), mentioned by Theopompus in Book ix of his *Philippica*, quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium (as emended by Holsten). The Schol. describes it and Καβύλη as 'near the Strymon and Amphipolis.' It also appears in the lexicon of Zonaras. Καβύλην: mentioned by Theopompus in Book xlvii, and by Anaximenes in Book viii, of their *Philippica*. The latter states that it is in the middle of Thrace, on the river Taxos (so Harpocr.; 'Tonzos,' the mod. *Tundscha*, a tributary of the Hebrus, is suggested by Tafel). Polybius (quoted by Stephanus Byz.) and Strabo place it near Ἀσσία or Ἀσιακὴ χώρα in the neighbourhood of Byzantium. Strabo calls it Καλύβη; 2000 convicts were settled there by Philip, and it was hence known as Πονηρόπολις (ASchaefer ii 447² f.). It is now identified with the Bulgarian town of *Slivno* (letterpress to Kiepert's map of Thrace, 1894, note 22). Μάστειραν: not mentioned elsewhere; Harpocr. suggests Βάστειρα or Πίστειρα or Ἐπίμαστος, places in Thrace named by Anaximenes in Book vii of his *Philippica*.

336. νῦν, summer of 341 B.C.

ἐλαίει, 'is capturing.'

337. μὲν: resumptive (334), as in 2 § 18.

λαβεῖν (corresponding to ἐλαίει): 5 § 21 λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμείν, 2 § 15 (of Philip) δόξειν ἐπιθυμείν, 6 § 36 (do.) τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐπεθύμησεν. (338) χερσίωνας: 8 § 35; 4 § 31; χερμάσειν (344). (339) κινδύνους: 2 § 15 (Philip) κινδυνεύων.

§ 45 l. 339. τῶν, goes with λιμένων κτλ.; Gen. of ὁ Ἀθηναίων λιμένες: cp. 9 § 44 τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν.

(340) λιμένων: the harbours of Peiraeus and Zea and Munichia. νεωρίων, the 'dockyards' of the war-harbour called the Κάνθαρος (part of the harbour of Peiraeus); Plato *Gorg.* 469 κ τὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων νεώρια καὶ αἱ τριήρεις καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πάντα.

τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀργυρέων, 'the silver-mines' of Laurium (37 § 4 ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις; *Select Private Orations* i, Introd. to Or. 37).

(341) προσόδων: 1 § 19. οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶν: dependent on ὑπολαμβάνει (333), as in 19 § 331, 46 § 19. In indirect discourse the negative particle of the direct discourse is regularly retained (Goodwin *MT.* § 667, 5).

343. τῶν μελίνων, *millet*, 'millet,' not 'millet-fields' (as i. & S). Xen. *Anab.* vii 5, 12 mentions a tribe in eastern Thrace called Μελινοφάγοι.

τῶν ἄλυσρων, a kind of corn, mentioned with barley (κρέ) as food for horses in *IL.* v 196, viii 564; probably 'spelt,' sometimes translated 'rye.'

344. σίροις, 'silos'; ὁρύγμασιν ἐν οἷς κατετίθεντο τὰ σπέρματα (Hesychius, Photius, Suidas).

The construction of three σίροις is ordered in a decree (c. 439 B.C.) relating to the dedication of the first-fruits to the goddesses of Eleusis, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν ἐνταυθαῖ ἐμβαλλεῖν (*CIA.* iv 27 b; Dittenberger 13, 11). Cp. Varro de *Re Rustica* i 57 *quidam granaria habent sub terris speluncas, quas vocant σιρούς, ut in Cappadocia ac Thracia*, *Plin. N. H.* 18 § 306 *utilissime tamen servantur in scrobibus, quas siros vocant, ut in Cappadocia ac Thracia et Hispania* <et in parte> *Africae, ante omnia ut sicco solo stant curant, mox ut prius subternatur* ('millet' thus stored would keep, says Varro, for 100 years); and Julian *Ep.* 53 ὁ Ζεὺς, πῶς μὲν καλῶς ἔχει, ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐν Θράκῃ διαγεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐνταυθα σίροις ἐγγειμάζειν; On an eastern tributary of the Strymon there lay in a fruitful plain a Thracian town called Σίρος (Herod. viii 115), Σίρρα, Σίρρα, Σίρρα, now *Seres*, which may possibly be derived from σίρος. The only island in the Cyclades in which this ancient mode of storing grain survives is Keos, where 'holes are dug near a threshing-floor, and when the grain is ready they put it in, having first been careful to cover the inside with straw [cp. *Plin. supra*]. When sufficient grain has been piled up to form a sort of cone-shaped mound they cover the whole with straw, and put on the top of this some of the stiff native brushwood, and then they cover their mound with earth' (Bent's *Cyclades* 455). The modern term *silo* is Spanish, derived from σίρος through the Latin *silus*.

ἐν τῷ βαράθρῳ: the *βαράθρον* at Athens was the pit into which criminals condemned to death were thrown. Here the word is used 'metaphorically,' = ἐν τῷ δλέθρῳ, says Harpocr.; 'in a loathsome dungeon' (Brougham); 'in the midst of horrors' (Kennedy, who adds, it is pretty much the same as if we should speak of the 'black hole'); 'in that slough of despond' (Butcher); 'in the trenches' is perhaps a sufficient equivalent. ASchaefer ii 447² supposes that the Macedonian troops, when compelled to winter in the rude climate of Thrace, dug out pits underground to shelter themselves from the cold, like the Thracians in Virg. *Georg.* iii 376 *in defossis specubus*. The French and English troops had to do so during the Crimean winter.

345. τούτων: τῶν λυμένων κτλ.
c. Inf., as in § 11 l. 81.

(346) κύριος: Nom.

§ 46 l. 347. εἰδότες . . . καὶ ἑγνωκότας: see note on 4 § 3 l. 27.

348. ὑπερβάλλουσαν καὶ ἀνείκαστον, 'extraordinary and unexampled,' ἀνείκαστος ὁ εἰκασμῷ τινι μὴ ὑποβαλλόμενος (Suidas), found here only in classical Greek. Cp. Dionysa. *Ant. Rom.* iv 66 δεινὴν καὶ ἀνείκαστον ὑπομείνασα ἔβριν.

'Vitiolum est ἀνείκαστον: quod vitium insanabile est, id nemo depungere vel exuere unquam poterit. In § legitur ἀνείκαστον perinde mendose. Quid verum sit aut simile veri frustra quaero. Viderint alii' (Cobet *MC.* 466).

351. ἀξιοῦν: sc. χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν. ὅπως . . . συμφανές: Fut. Ind. in object clause after ὅταν καὶ πράττειν (note on 1 § 2) = 'actively to provide,' 'make effectual provision.' συνεστηκός: § 17.

353. ἔτοιμον ἔχει and δύναμιν τὴν ἀδικήσουσαν κτλ. correspond inversely to σώσουσαν κτλ. and ἔτοιμον ἔχηται. Any other distribution of the clauses would be less strong, and would weaken the stress on ἔτοιμον ἔχειν (18 § 177 ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμοι).

§ 47 l. 356. βοηθείαις: see 4 § 32. οὐδέποτε' οὐδέν: emphatic repetition of preceding οὐ.

359. ταμίαις: see 4 § 33. δημοσίους, 'subordinate commissioners,' lit. 'public slaves' to assist the officials (2 § 19). ὅπως ἐνι (2 § 4; 24 § 35; = ἐνεσσι) . . . ἀκριβεστάτην . . . οὕτως: see 2 § 11. τὸν μὲν χρημάτων—στρατηγού: see 4 § 33.

363 f. ταῦτ' ἐβελήθη(τε): 4 § 13; 1 § 6. ὡς ἀληθῶς: 6 § 10. εἰρήνην δικαίαν: a peace in which both parties act honourably.

365. μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ: Isocr. 10 § 50 μένοντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας.

366. ἐξ ἴσου, 'on equal terms'; Lys. 12 § 81 ὁ ἀγὼν οὐκ ἐκ ἴσου, cp. 6 § 32.

§ 48 l. 368. εἰ . . . δοκεῖ . . . ὁρθῶς δοκεῖ: 4 § 4; 2 § 9; 9 § 74; 15 § 8 εἰ ἐγνώκατε . . . οὐ καλῶς ἐγνώκατε (4 § 29; 2 § 22). δαπάνης μεγάλης—εἶναι: Plato *Gorg.* 461 A οὐκ ὀλίγης συνουσίας (discussion) ἐστίν; Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 418 c. 369. πονῶν πολλῶν καὶ πραγματείας, 'much toil and trouble'; πολλῆς is understood from πολλῶν. καὶ μάλ(α): 3 § 2.

371. ἂν ταῦτα μὴ θέλῃ: § 47 κἀν . . . ταῦτ' ἐβελήσθητε.

372. ἐκόντας: i.e. 'cheerfully.'

§ 49 l. 373. ἐγγυητής: § 17. θεῶν: dependent on

τις. 374. ἀξιόχρεως, 'trustworthy', 'sufficient'; 19 §§ 131, 295; [40] § 61; Plato *Apol.* 38 B ἐγγυηταὶ δ' ὑμῖν ἔσονται τοῦ ἀργυρίου οὗτοι ἀξιόχρεοι.

376. αὐτοὺς ἑμᾶς: § 59; 4 § 23. The context (390 f.) implies ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ. (377) τελευτῶν: 9 § 57. νῆ—θεοῦ: 36 § 61; cp. 9 § 65. (378) τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει, 'the traditions (the character) of Athens'; 18 § 95; 60 § 31; further defined by (379) πεπραγμένων τοῖς προγόνους: on Dat. see 1 § 28 p. 155.

380. ἐνεκ(α): see note on 5 § 6 l. 50. ῥαθυμίας: 4 § 8.

383. ἐρηκέναι, 'to have advised.'

§ 50 ll. 388 f. χρησόμεθα(α): 1 § 9. (389) ποῖ ἀναδυόμεθα(α); 'what subterfuge remains' (K). The Schol. explains ποῖ; as μέχρι τίτος; (Soph. *El.* 958 ποῖ μενεΐς ῥάθυμος); Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 526 ποῖ γὰρ καὶ χρὴν ἀναμεΐναι; But it seems better to take ποῖ as local, i.e. *how far* are we going with our subterfuges? The notion of *time* comes later, πότ(ε) (390). It has been suggested (by EMüller) that the metaphor is taken from a warrior who has withdrawn among the host of his followers; *Il.* vii 217 ἀναδύναι ἀψ' λαῶν ἐς θυμῶν, and xiii 225 εἰκὼν ἀνδύεται ('withdraws from') πόλεμον.

390-7. πότ' ὃ ἄνδρες—αἰσχύνῃ: the sense is almost the same as in 4 § 10, but with slight variations of expression. The impatient question ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται; is here omitted, and a graver touch is added. In the *First Philippic* the orator trusted to the influence of a free man's sense of honour; a wider knowledge of human nature now compels him to forewarn his audience of the stern realities of slavery (Rehdantz).

§ 51 l. 392. ἦν . . πάρεστιν: the same type of sentence in 4 § 37 ἄς . . ἐξελέγχονται. (393) πάρεστιν . . παρ' ἐλήλυθε: 18 § 48 εἰ παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρὸς, ὁ τοῦ γ' εἶδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς δὲι πάρεστι τοῖς εὐ φρονούσι.

'Absurdum est dicere aliquid non solum adesse, sed etiam dudum praeteritae. Mendosum est παρελθόν, sed nihil ex cogitare possum quod et sententiae sit aptum nec multum a librorum scriptura discrepet' (Cobet *MC.* 466). The same difficulty has been felt by Dobree, who says, 'imo nihil minus quam praeterit.' He suspects that the section has been interpolated from [10] § 27, and that ἀνίγχε has been substituted for καιρός. Voemel replies: 'at ἀνίγχε h.l. quas praeterit, est αἰσχύνῃ, quam timesites Ipei Athenienses diu officis fungi debuerunt. Causa ingenius necessaria praeterit, restat ut necessitate cogatur rerum.' Possibly ὃ μόνον should be altered into οὗχ ὅπως: 'I will not say it is now present, but it has actually passed away', cp. *Lys.* 19 § 51 where οὗχ ὅπως does not mean οὗχ ὅπως ὅ (Goodwin *MT.* § 707). παρελλήλυθε, however, need not mean 'has passed away' (cp. 18 §§ 191 f.) but 'has come upon us', 'has overtaken us', a stronger form of πάρεστιν; if so, we find expressed

in two clauses a sense equivalent to *οὐ μόνον νῦν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλαι παρέστυν*. *παρελθὼν* can be used of 'entering' (9 § 24), 'advancing' (5 § 30; 6 § 30) and 'coming forward' (of speakers, 2 § 8; 3 § 28). But this interpretation is very improbable.

394. ἀπεύχεσθαι, 'deprecate,' followed by redundant μή (Goodwin *MT*. § 807 b, Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 516, 3 α), as in Plato *Laws* 687 D.

395. διαφέρει . . τί; (18 § 205) assumes that there is a difference and inquires as to its nature: τί διαφέρει; generally implies that there is no difference, but not always, e.g. in 22 § 55 τί δούλον ἢ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι διαφέρει;

399. πληγαί: Thuc. viii 74 § 3 πληγαῖς πάντας ζήμοις (of the oligarchs at Athens). αἰκισμός=[10] § 27; here only in Dem. Cp. 23 § 28 στρεβλοῦν, αἰκισσάσθαι. μήτε γίνετο(ο) οὔτε λέγειν ἄξιον: § 68 οὐτ' εἰμι μήτε γενόμην, 19 § 149 οὔτ' ἦν μήτε γένοιτο, 21 § 209 δ μή γένοιτο οὐτ' ἔσται, 25 §§ 75, 86. (400) οὔτε λέγειν (ταῦτα) ἄξιον: 18 § 195 οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν.

§ 52 l. 401. εἰπὼν ἄν=εἴπομι ἄν (εἰ καιρὸς εἴη). Cp. § 71; 3 § 8. Goodwin *MT*. § 215.

402. καταπολιτεύονται, 'advise you to your detriment'; 'ruin you by their policy,' 'subdue or reduce by policy' is the sense given in L & S. Cp. 4 § 10 καταπολεμῶν and ib. § 7 τὰ κατερραθυμημένα, and Hyper. *adv. Dem.* col. 22 (20) ὑπὸ τούτων καταρρητορευθῆς. Brougham's 'certain persons misguide you by their policy' is better than Kennedy's 'certain politicians abuse you.'

403. τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' ἔσω: followed by ἀλλά, as in § 63; 3 § 27; 9 § 57; more fully expressed in 20 § 99.

404. ἐμπέση, 'arises in debate'; 'comes into discussion'; Aristoph. *Lys.* 858 κἀν περὶ ἀνδρῶν γ' ἐμπέση λόγος.

τις: one of the peace party of Eubulus. The catch phrases of that party are here satirically quoted. Cp. 19 § 88 (Aeschines) διέξεισιν ἡλίκᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγάθ' ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης γίγνεται κτλ. and § 336 μὴ λέγε ὡς καλὸν εἰρήνην, Thuc. iv 59 § 2 . . περὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὡς χαλεπὸν τί ἂν τις . . μακρηγοροίη; (406) δύναμιν, 'force' in the sense of army.

407. τινές: certain members of the war-party who, it is insinuated, have a pecuniary interest in a war which will give them a chance of 'plundering the treasury.' Thus Aeschin. 2 § 161 ἐπλούτουν τινὲς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων εἰσφορῶν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων προσόδων.

408. ἀναβάλλουσι: 4 § 14; 9 § 142; 'thwart,' 'delay your

operations.' Pl. after 'collective' use of τις. ἡσυχίαν ποιῶσιν: a phrase (= εἶδον) introducing Inf. πράττειν, as in § 8; 1 § 15; 6 § 33; 9 § 75. Thuc. vi 18 § 5 τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ μένιν καὶ ἀπελθεῖν αἱ νῆες παρέξουσιν (Goodwin *MT.* § 749).

§ 53 l. 410. ἡ σχολή, 'your customary illneess.'

411. τὸ μηδὲν ἔσθι ποιεῖν, 'your doing nothing promptly' (6 § 27). δέδοικ' ὅπως μήποθ' ἡγήσῃσθ(ε): Goodwin *MT.* § 370. In 9 § 75 the Fut. Ind. is preferred.

412. ἐπὶ πολλῶ: see 1 § 15. τοῖσι (these orators of the peace-party) δ' αἱ (παρὰ Φιλίππου) χάριτες καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ἐκ τούτων (τοῦ ἀναβάλλειν ὑμᾶς κτλ.): this implies in both clauses a reference to Philip's gratitude and Philip's rewards. H^Wolf distinguishes between χάριτες παρ' ὑμῶν ('popularity') and μισθὸς παρὰ Φιλίππου. In Rehdantz-Blass χάριτες is taken of the favour of Athens as well as of Philip.

413. οἶμαι . . δεῖν ('one ought') governs πείθειν and also νομίζω (417) and κωλύειν (421).

414. οἱ πεπεισμένοι κάθησθαι, 'who sit here, already persuaded' of the advantages of peace. κάθησθε, besides its obvious reference to the audience seated in the assembly (6 §§ 3, 30), may have an ulterior reference to their idleness and remissness, as in 2 § 23; 4 §§ 9, 44.

416. τὰ γ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὑπάρχει: § 5.

§ 54 ll. 419 f. καὶ τὸ ἀφιστάναί, 'and (I also think that one should) prevent the expected "plunder of the treasury" by proposing a plan for its safe-keeping (precautions for its security), not by abandoning our interests' on the pretence of saving our money. Brougham strangely regards this passage as 'one of the most difficult in Demosthenes.' He probably did not see that κωλύειν depends on οἶμαι . . δεῖν (413 f.). τὸ "διαρπασθήσεται κτλ.": a quotation from the pleas of the peace party, like that in l. 406 διαρπάξειν τινὲς τὰ χρήματα βούλομαι. It is opposed to σωθήσεται, which corresponds to it in termination; it is also confirmed, as the right reading, by αἱ διαρπασθήσονται (424). The alternative τὸ διαρπασθῆσθαι is open to the objection that, as an Inf. after κωλύειν, we should expect not the Fut. but the Aor. Passive, τὸ διαρπασθῆναι (Blass).

420. τῷ φυλακῇ εἰπεῖν (εἰπεῖν in [10] § 56): causal use of Dat. of Inf.; § 65; 2 §§ 6, 9; 3 § 3; 5 §§ 1, 21; 6 § 13; 9 § 49; cp. 9 § 18. εἰπεῖν: here to 'propose': 3 § 34 εὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν λέγεις;

§ 55 l. 422. ἀγανακτῶ . . τοῦτο . . αἰ: 54 § 15 τοῦτ' ἀγα-

ραπτήσαιμ' ἂν . . . εἰ, Plato *Euthyphron* 4 D ταῦτα ἀγ. . . ὅτι, Dem. 21 § 123 τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος ἀγ. This is a variety of 'cognate' Acc., esp. found with Neuter Pronouns (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* § 410 c, n. 5). The constr. is εἰ ληψέτω τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰ τὰ χρήματα διαρπασθήσεται, but τὰ χρήματα is put earlier in contrast to τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 425. ἐφ' ἧμιν ἔστι: § 2; 9 §§ 7, 8; 4 § 32.

427. ἀρπάζων, 'seizing,' rather than 'plundering,' repeats part of the sense of διαρπασθήσεται. εἰ (423) almost=ὅτι; hence followed by οὐ ληψέτω (427), contrasted with ληψέτω (424). Similarly in § 45 ἐπιθυμεῖν; 9 § 5; 16 § 20; 18 § 117.

426. οὐτως goes with ἐφέξῃ, and both with πᾶσαν. ἐφέξῃ, or ἐξῇ, is joined with πᾶς or πᾶσα 9 § 69; 19 § 273; 22 § 61; 24 § 70; 28 § 10; *Proem.* 38 § 2; Aeschin. 2 §§ 26, 96, 126. It is separated from πᾶς (as here) in 21 § 190, Thuc. i 125 § 1.

427. ἐφ' ὑμᾶς: 6 § 33.

§ 56 ll. 429 f. τί . . . τὸ αἰτιον . . . τό (not τοῦ); cp. 9 § 63. Xen. *Anab.* ii 5, 22 ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρωι ταύτου αἰτιος, τὸ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, Plato *Laches* 190 ε αἰτιος τὸ σὲ ἀποκρίνεσθαι μὴ τοῦτο (Goodwin *MT.* § 705). On the other hand, in 19 § 178 we have the Gen. ἐπέδειξα αἰτιον γεγεννημένον τοῦ . . . Constr. αἰτιον τὸ μηδὲνα τούτων (§ 53) εἰπεῖν τὸν οὕτω φανερώς—καταλαμβάνοντα, ὡς πόλεμον ποιῇ, (πάντας) δ' αἰτιῶσθαι. For πάντας understood by contrast to μηδεὶς cp. 18 § 199 μηδεὶς θανάμην, ἀλλὰ . . . (ἐκαστος) θεωρησάτω.

στρατεύοντ(α): Philip's military operations in the time of peace are here mentioned first in the statement of the wrongs which he is inflicting on Athens. ἀδικοῦντα is further illustrated by πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντα. But neither of these illustrations is needed and both are possibly interpolations. In [7] § 36 all that is said of Philip is ἀδικῶν φανερώς ἐξελέγχεται, and similarly in 18 § 136 ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως . .

'Potestne fortasse aliquis λάθρᾳ στρατεύειν vel urbes sic occupare ut nemini sentiat? Dixerat Demosthenes τὸν οὕτω φανερώς ἀδικοῦντα, deinde quae essent illa ἀδικήματα adscripsit nescio quis στρατεύοντα, πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντα . . . Cp. [10] § 58 τί ποτ' οὖν . . . τὸν μὲν οὕτω φανερώς ἀδικοῦντα καὶ πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντα οἷός τις εἶπεν ὡς ἀδικεῖ καὶ πόλεμον ποιῇ.' Hac igitur contagione verus Demosthenes impletus est' (Cobet *Mc.* 466 f.).

431. μηδὲνα: Subject of εἰπεῖν. τούτων: Philip's partisans at Athens (§§ 52 f.). (432) πόλεμον ποιῇ: § 61. 42. μὴ (ἀ)πιτρέπων: used absolutely. (433) ταῦτα: the positions seized by Philip as in § 9; 13 § 32. This almost implies some recent reference to the capture of those positions, such as is supplied by πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντα. τούτους: resumptive (as in 2 § 6) of τοῖς—συμβου-

λύνοντας, which is the Object of αλτῖσθαι. The Subject of the latter is αὐτοῖς, understood from μηδὲνα τούτων (431).

§ 57 l. 434. *ἔτι τὴν ὀργὴν κτλ.* : i.e. Philip's partisans have a deep design against the true patriots. At the first embarrassment caused by the war, they will accuse the patriots of having kindled it, and will thus gain a double advantage:—(1) they will be doing a service to their master, as the Athenians will be taken up with the trial of the accusations brought against the patriots, and will accordingly pursue the war with less vigour; (2) Philip's partisans will themselves escape the penalty of their disloyalty to Athens by playing the rôle of accusers (Weil).

435. *παρ' ὧν* is supported against *παρ' ὧν* (SL) by § 3 ἀξιώ . . . μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὧν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι (where all the MSS agree). Cp. Lycurg. 15 *τὴν παρ' ὧν τιμωρίαν*.

436. *λυπῆσθαι* : ὀργή is naturally excited by λύπη. Aristot. *Rhet.* ii 2, 9 (*ὀργίζονται*) *ἐταν λυπῶνται* . . . 10 διὰ <πλεμῶντες> . . . *ὅπως ἐπιθυμοῦντες καὶ μὴ κατορθοῦντες ὀργίλοι εἰσι*.

437. *τρέφει*, 'turn off,' of diverting disasters in 18 § 290 and 19 § 130. Cp. *Prooem.* 31 § 1.

438. μή : asyndeton as in 4 § 14 *κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε*. (439) *ὧν* = *τούτων* δ. (440) *νῦν* : at a time when they are acting in Philip's interests, under the protection of peace. *τοῦτο(ο)* . . . *δύναται* (§ 27 ; 18 § 26 ; 21 § 31), 'this is the real meaning of their saying' etc. *ὥς ἄρα* : § 4.

441 f. *καὶ—ἔστιν* : suspected by reason of the triple *hiatus*.

διαδικασία : primarily a law-suit to settle disputed claims on the part of two persons (20 § 147 ; [43] § 61 *ἔστι δ' ὁ νῦν ἀγὼν καὶ ἡ διαδικασία* ; Lys. 17 § 1 ; Meier and Schömann pp. 471 f., Lipsius). It is synonymous with *ἀμφισβήτησις* in Plato's *Lysis* 937 c. The corresponding verb *διαδικάζεσθαι* is applied to the dispute between Philip and Athens about Halonnesus, and to that between Athens and Cardia about the Cardian territory ([7] §§ 7, 41-4). Here *διαδικασία* is not so much 'altercation' (Brougham) or 'debate' (K), as 'legal dispute.' The point at issue is whether Philip or the patriotic party at Athens is responsible for a breach of the Peace.

§ 58 l. 443. *οἷς ἀκριβῶς* : note on 5 § 4 l. 24. *ὃν γράψαντος*, 'when no Athenian has as yet moved a declaration of war.' (444) *ἔχει τῶν* MSS : *εἶχε* Scholiast, followed by Rehdantz-Blass. The former is defended by *νῦν* below.

445. *Καρδίαν*, in the Thracian Chersonesus ; claimed by Athens in 343 ([7] §§ 41 f.). See note on 5 § 25.

446. μὴ προσποιῆσθαι, *dissimulare*; Aeschin. 3 § 201 εἰ δὲ μὴ προσποιῆται ὑμῶν ἀκούειν. μὴ πρ. πολεμῖν = πρ. μὴ πολεμεῖν, 'to assume that he is not at war with us.'

448. ἂν εἴη . . εἰ . . ἐξελέγχοι (Goodwin *MT.* § 455), 'he would be extremely foolish, if he were to convince us of our mistake' (and admit that he has broken the conditions of peace).

449. τῶν ὄντων, § 21; 5 § 5; 23 § 149; 21 § 195 μῶνος τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων.

§ 59 l. 449. ἐπιδὼν . . ἔη: note on 6 § 35 l. 278. αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς: § 49.

450. οὐ (φῆσει) πολεμῖν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' Ὀρέταις (ἐφ' ἣ πολεμῖν). (451) Ὀρέταις: § 36; 9 §§ 12, 59 f. Oreos, in the N of Euboea, had been surprised by a Macedonian force (the στρατιωτῶν of the text), and had thus been compelled to give up its alliance with Athens.

452. Φεραίσις: cp. 9 § 12; [7] § 32; Grote c. 90 (viii 176), and esp. ASchaefer ii 346² note 3. πρότερον: 344 B.C.

Ὀλυνθίοις: see Intro. to Or. 1 p. li. ἔξ ἀρχῆς, not 'at first,' but 'in the beginning,' implying an earlier date (349 B.C.), than the attack on Pherae (344 B.C.) described as πρότερον in comparison with the most recent event, the capture of Oreos (342 B.C.). The order is the natural order of reminiscence (4 § 34; 9 § 27). The latest event is usually remembered first. ἔως . . παρῆν: Goodwin *MT.* § 613.

456. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο κτλ.: if, on the one hand, Philip's partisans will not allow us to resist him, and, on the other, Philip himself will not let us alone, the only course open to us is to submit to him as slaves. ἐᾶσθαι: Passive.

§ 60 l. 458. οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰσων: cp. Thuc. ii 42 § 1. Athens, says Dem. (with some exaggeration), had her very existence at stake (ll. 301, 467), whereas the other states were only risking their independence. (461) οἶδεν ἀκριβῶς (443).

462. δουλεύειν κτλ.: Thuc. ii 63 § 3 οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει συμφέρει, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπηκόῳ, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν (the last two words recur in the parallel from 18 § 203).

§ 61 l. 467. ὑπὲρ (= περὶ § 34) τῶν ἰσχύων: i.e. 'for existence.' (468) οὕτω resumes the sense of the preceding phrase ὡς—ἀγῶνος, as in § 47 οὕτω ποιήσαντας, and in 2 § 6 τοῦτω resumens τῷ with Inf. Cp. Xen. *Cyrop.* i 6, 11 ὡς οὐν ἐμοῦ μηδέποτε ἀμελήσαντος, . . οὕτως ἔχε τὴν γνώμην, and *Anab.* i 3, 6. πεπρακῶτας: 18 § 46 συμβέβηκε . . τοῖς προσετηκόσιν καὶ τὰλλα πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένους πωλεῖν, πρῶτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν ἀσθεθεῖν, 19 § 116 πεπρακάναι.

αὐτὸν Φίλππῳ, and §§ 13, 16, 118, 167, 331. (469)
 μισεῖν: more overt than 'hate'; rather 'abhor,' 'execrate.'
 51 § 33 δικάσονται καὶ μισῶ καὶ ἐπεξέρχονται. κάπνον-
 πανίστα, 'cudgel (or bastinado) to death,' a punishment
 inflicted on common criminals; 9 § 61; 19 § 137; Lysias
 13 § 56 θάνατον . . καταψηφισάμενοι, τῷ δημῷ παρέδοτε, καὶ
 ἀπετυμπανίσθη; Aristot. *Rhet.* ii 5, 14. Bekker's *Anecdota*
 p. 438 τυμπάνοις ἀποκτείναι: τύμπανον δὲ ἐστὶ ξύλον ὡς περ
 σκύταλον. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ξύλοις ἀνέθρυν τοὺς κατακρίτους,
 ὅσπερ δ' ἔδοξε τῷ ξίφει. οὗ γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐστὶ: 18 § 24;
 2 § 10. (471) πρὶν δὲ . . καλᾶσθαι: Goodwin *MT*.
 § 642. (472) καλᾶσθαι(ς), by its position, adds emphasis
 to ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει at the beginning of the clause, and to
 ἐχθροῖς at the end.

§ 62 l. 472. πόθεν, 'why?' (473) ὑβρίζειν: stronger than
 'insult'; rather 'brutally outrages' (cp. 21 §§ 70 f.); ordinarily
 applied to outrages that bring dishonour on the persons of free
 citizens (22 §§ 57 f.). Hence ὑμᾶς, which is stronger than εἰς
 ὑμᾶς (Lucian *Soloecc.* 10) and is here applied even to the sovereign
 people, is followed by an apologetic addition, as in 19 § 220
 πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ὑβρίσθε: οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼγ' οἷδ' ὅτι χρὴ λέγειν
 ἄλλο.

475. εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο: to be taken, not with εὖ ποιοῦντα
 ('though he deceives them, he at least renders services' K,
 and similarly Brougham and Westermann), but with ἐξαπατᾶν,
 'in the case of the rest, if he does nothing more, at any rate he
 deceives them by conferring benefits on them,' i.e. 'at the least,
 he deceives them by his favours, whereas he does not think it
 worth while to deceive you, he is threatening you outright.'
 19 § 95 ἡ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπολογία, καὶ εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο,
 τοῦτομα γοῦν ἔχει φιλόανθρωπον, ib. § 258; Aeschin. 3 § 154; Livy
 xxii 29, 11. ἀπελθεῖν: § 16. (476) ἤδη: probably
 = 'forthwith,' 'outright,' as in 4 §§ 29, 37; and 1 § 2.

476. οἷον, 'for example,' 2 § 14. Θετταλοῦς κτλ.:
 6 § 22; 2 § 7. ἐπηγάγε(ο): here only used in *Middle*
 by Dem., who has the *Passive* of ἐπάγω in 5 § 10; 6 § 31; 9 § 1,
 and the *Middle* of ἐπάγω in 19 § 259 ἐπάγονται, 54 § 1 ἐπάγεσθαι,
 and here, according to the two best mss. ἐπάγει occurs below
 (480).

478. δεῖα: cognate Acc. Ὀλυνθίους: 6 §§ 20 f.

479. πρότερον (356 B.C., earlier than the dealings with the
 Thessalians): to be taken with ἐξηπάτησε, which separates
 Πιστεῖσθαι and καὶ πολλὰ ἔπρα. The manuscript reading com-
 pels us to take δεῖα with ἐξηπάτησε.

Wecklein (*Philologus* 39 pp. 170-3) 'proposes to leave out, as a foolish gloss, *Πορεύσασθαι . . . καὶ πόλλ' ἔτερα*. Thus *δοῦναι* is object not to *ἐξπαύσθαι* but to *δοῦναι*. Both sense and balance of construction require that Dem. should lay stress not on the magnitude of the deception, but on the magnitude of the gifts by which the deception was accomplished' (*AJP.* ii 132). Wecklein's construction, *δοῦναι . . . δοῦναι*, is confirmed by *πολλὰ δοῦναι* in the previous sentence.

§ 63 l. 480. *Θηβαίους κτλ.* : 5 §§ 21 f. *ὑπάγει*, 'is enticing,' = [10] § 64. Active not used elsewhere in Dem. Middle of 'drawing under one's away' (476). *Βουατίαν* (504) : a reference to the recovery of certain Boeotian towns by the Thebans, viz. Orchomenos, Coroneia (5 § 21), Corsias (19 § 141), etc.

481. *πολέμου* : the Sacred War, against the Phocians (355-346 B.C.). *πολλοῦ* : used instead of *μακροῦ*.

482. *καρπώσασθαι* : 6 § 21 *τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρπώσασθαι*. (483) *πλεονεξίαν*, 'gain,' 'advantage.' (484) *ὅταν ποτὲ συμβῇ*, 'whenever it may happen,' implying that their future suffering is certain ; it is only a question of the time when it will befall them.

485. *ὅν μὲν κτλ.* : e.g. Amphipolis. *ἀπιστέρησθε* : already, beforehand, during the war, is implied by contrast with *ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι*, hence the suggestions *ἀπιστέρησθε τίως* (Dobree), *πρότερον ἀπιστέρησθε* (Doederlein), *προαπιστέρησθε* (Weil). *ἀποστέρησθε* has also been proposed (Blass) : cp. *πέλονται* ; but see next note. It has even been proposed to strike out *πόσων ἀπιστέρησθε* (Zurborg, *Hermes* 1876 pp. 280 f.).

486. *σιωπῶ* : followed in 3 § 27 by *ἀπιστερήμεθα* in § 28. Also of *μὲν* events in 9 § 26 ; 19 §§ 145, 175, 331 ; 20 § 33 ; 21 §§ 116, 132 ; 25 § 79 ; more general in 9 § 50, 18 § 268 ; never of *future* events in Dem. *τὴν εἰρήνην* : 346 B.C. *πὸς ἐξηπάτησθε* (478 f.).

§ 64 l. 488. *οὐχὶ κτλ.* : for the series of *questions* cp. 4 § 10. *Φωκίας* . . . *Πύλος* : 6 §§ 29, 35. Acc. after *ἔχει* (490). *τὰν Θράκης*, 'the coast of Thrace,' lit. 'the Thrace-ward (places),' further defined in the sequel. The phrase is used of the whole of the S coast of Thrace, so far as it was occupied by Greek colonies, including Chalcidice. *χωρία* is usually omitted (Aristoph. *Aves* 1369), though expressed in Thuc. ii 29 § 4 ; v 2 § 1 ; i 12 § 5, 80 § 2 ; cp. Dem. 9 § 26 *πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης*.

489. *Δορίσκον*, N of the mouth of the Hebrus, Herod. vii 59, 108 ; *Σέρρειον* (called *Σέρρειον* ib. 59), a foreland farther W, near Maroneia (ASchaefer ii 246²), distinguished from *Σέρρειον τεῖχος* in 9 § 15.

In 9 § 15 the places captured by Philip include Σέρριον and Δορίσκος as well as Σερρειον τείχος and Ἰερὸν ὄρος; in [7] § 57 Σερρειον τείχος, Ἐργίσκη and Ἰερὸν ὄρος. In 19 § 156 we read ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Δορίσκον, Θράκην, τὰ ἐν Τείχων, Ἰερὸν ὄρος . . . ἦται. Aeschines 3 § 82 twits Demosthenes with harping on these unimportant places:—Σέρριον τείχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μυρτιάσκην κτλ. This suggests that in 19 § 156, instead of the general term ΘΡΑΙΚΗΝ mentioned in the middle of particular places in that region, we should read ΕΡΓΙΚΗΝ. The taunt of Aeschines is answered by Dem. in 18 § 27, where he mentions τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτιῶν καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην. In 19 § 161 we have a general reference to these places τὰ ἐν Θράκῃ προσημείωται, and ib. 179 where Θράκην is contrasted with Φωκίας, while ib. 180 we have τὸ Θράκην καὶ τὰ Τείχη προέσθαι, but these passages do not justify the mention of Thrace in the middle of an enumeration of places in § 156.

Κερσοβλέπτην, a Thracian chief who was an 'ally' of Athens, and was attacked by Philip and deprived of the greater part of his territory after the Athenians had taken the oaths relating to the Peace (18 §§ 25 f.). Cp. 19 § 174; Aeschin. 2 §§ 85, 92, and 3 §§ 61, 65; and Grote c. 89 (viii 134-6). He was completely subdued by Philip, probably in the summer of 341 (Diodorus xvi 71, and esp. ASchaefer ii 449²).

490. τὴν πόλιν τὴν Καρδιανῶν: see 5 § 25 l. 203. ἔχει refers to ἀπειστήρησθε (487).

491. ὁμολογεῖ (9 § 16), 'avows it,' ac. ἔχειν. τί ποτ' οὖν κτλ. resumes πόθεν οἴεσθε (472). (492) ἔμην better taken with προσφέρεται than with τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.

493. δδει(α) . . . λέγειν δέδοται: see [7] § 15; 24 § 9; cp. § 8 ποιεῖν ἐξουσίαν δώσωμεν and 6 § 33 ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία γίγνηται. Followed by Gen. of articular Inf. in 59 § 113, Lys. 30 § 34.

494. λαβόντα: Acc., instead of Dat. after previous phrase; cp. 5 § 2. 495. αὐτόν, the speaker already implied in λέγειν, 'one's self'; 'an individual' in contrast with τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν.

§ 65 l. 496. οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλές: repeated in 499, 503. For other exx. of ἐπιναφορά see 9 §§ 66, 68; 18 §§ 48, 81. Though the following participles imply a condition, the apodosis is vividly expressed without δν. Similarly 19 § 123 οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἡμῶν μὴ παρακρουσθέντων ὑμῶν (= εἰ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε) μέναι Φιλίππῳ (Goodwin *MT.* § 421). (497) λέγειν τὰ Φιλίππου, 'to plead his cause,' 'be his advocate.' μὴ σὺν εὐ πεπονθῶτων = εἰ μὴ οἱ πολλοὶ εὐ πεπονθῶσαν σὺν τοῖς τὰ Φ. λέγουσιν. Cp. 5 § 13; Goodwin *MT.* § 472. It was necessary for the Olynthians in general to share with Philip's partisans (Lasthenes and Euthyocrates) their obligations to Philip. σὺν εὐ πεπονθῶτες (500) should be spelt as three words, not as one. See note on *Lept.* 20 § 64 εἶναι εὐ πεπονθῶται ἢ πόλιν ἐνὶ αἷ

πεποίηκεν, and cp. Thuc. iii 13 § 1 *ἐν κακῷ ποιῆν*, which could not possibly be spelt as one word. 499. *Ποσειδάων* (479).

501. τοῦ πλήθους, 'the people,' in a political sense; 'the commonalty,' opp. to τυράννου (6 § 22). τὴν Πυλαίων: 5 § 23.

503. πρὶν c. Ind. after οὐ: Goodwin *MT.* § 634.

504. Βοιωτίαν (480). Φυκίας ἀνέλεον: 9 § 19. Grote c. 89 (viii 160).

§ 66 l. 505. Ἀμφίπολιν: taken by Philip in 357; Intro. to *First Phil. and Olynthiacs*, pp. xxxix f. τὴν Καρδιανῶν χώραν: see § 64 τὴν πόλιν τὴν Κ. 506. ἀπεστερηκός: not merely 'deprived,' but 'kept back,' 'withheld,' what ought to be given up to its proper owner, 37 § 53; Thuc. i 69 § 1.

507. κατασκευάζοντος—Εἰβορίαν: § 36. ἐπιτέχισμα: 4 § 5.

508. ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον παρόντος, 'advancing to attack,' 'preparing to march against, B.' The 'tentative,' or 'ingressive,' use of the Present. Dem. here states as a fact what is simply a conjecture (§ 14), which might possibly remain unverified (§ 18). Philip actually besieged Byzantium about a year and a half after the date of this speech (Weil).

509. καὶ γὰρ τοι: 4 § 6. ἐκ πτωχῶν γινώριμοι: 3 § 29 ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀδύλων ἐντιμοί, where ταχύ is omitted. With the latter cp. Menander's οὐδεὶς ἐπλούτησε ταχέως δίκαιος ὢν, and Cic. *Phil.* 8 § 9 *vide-runt ex mendicis fieri repente divites*.

514. πίστιν, εὐνοίαν, 'confidence' and 'good-will' towards Athens on the part of her allies. (515) ἀποροι: emphatically repeating the last word of the previous sentence.

§ 67 l. 515. τούτων, 'these matters'; meaning either the advantages just enumerated (Weil), or (less probably) the conduct of Philip's partisans (Blass). 516. δυνάμεις: [59] § 111 ὅλ. καὶ βαθύμως φέροντες. ἔχειν: the Subject is ἡμᾶς understood from the previous context; expressed in [10] § 69 and here in mss inferior to SL. ἴδαν ταῦτα φέρεσθαι, 'suffering these advantages to go their way,' 'slip out of your hands. ταῦτα is omitted by Blass, and altered into ταύτη by Weil, as suggested by [10] § 69 τοῦτων τὸν τρόπον φέρεσθαι, cp. Isocr. 4 § 6 ἔως δ' ἂν τὰ μὲν (πράγματα) ὁμοίως ὥσπερ πρότερον φέρηται. In this sense of φέρεσθαι, 'go on their course,' 'turn out,' an Adv. such as εἰς, καλῶς or κακῶς is usually added (see L & S). ταῦτα στίβεσθαι (8')

is retained by Voemel and Westermann. This would involve understanding ὑμᾶς twice in the same clause 'your allowing yourselves to be deprived of these things,' which is bad Greek, although στέρεσθαι sometimes takes the Acc. (Xen. Ages. 4, 1, Eur. Hel. 95).

516 f. ὁ μὲν εὐδαίμων κτλ. : subordinate in sense to the following co-ordinate clause.

518. ἔρημοι : sc. συμμάχων ; 'destitute' ; 'isolated.'

519. ὄντων ἀφθονία λαμπροί, 'magnificent in the profusion of your merchandise.' The thought is expanded at length in [10] §§ 49 f. ὃν (= τοῦτων δ) προσήκε (decebat) : sc. παρασκευάζειν or -εσθαι (Goodwin MT. § 417). Cp. 4 § 3 ὃν ἔχρην. The relative clause is adjectivally used, as in 19 § 186 τῆς οἰα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐστι πολιτείας.

520. οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δέ : for the late position of δέ, which is here unavoidable, cp. δέ after ἐπὶ τοῦτο (§ 72), δεινὰ ποιοῦσι (§ 9), οἷα ποιεῖ (6 § 3), τῆς πόλεως (9 § 5).

522. ὁρᾷ : 3 § 1.

524. παρ' ὅντων ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, 'live in quiet among you,' without falling foul of one another. The thought is expanded in [10] §§ 70-74.

§ 68 l. 526. εἰτα, 'and then' (1 § 24); not merely 'thereupon' (of time), but almost 'and yet.' It is closely connected with the previous clause. δε εἰν τύχη (2 § 10) : sc. φάς (not παρελθόν, 3 § 28) : 'yet any chance speaker says, on coming forward.' οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλεις, 'why! you won't' etc. The unexpressed thought being, '(we must speak), for you won't.' 54 § 35 ταῦτα τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ νεανικά ἐστὶν αὐτῶν. "οὐ γὰρ ἡμεῖς μαρτυρήσομεν ἀλλήλοις;" and 3 § 6; 9 § 68.

527. γράφειν . . κινδυνεύειν (of personal responsibility for political proposals): Deinarchus 1 § 39 describes Dem. as λογισάμενος ὅτι τὸ κινδυνεύειν καὶ τὸ γράφειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισφαλές ἐστιν. Dem. does not at present propose any declaration of war (see end of § 78); his procedure is as cautious as it was in connexion with the 'theoric' fund (1 § 19 compared with 3 § 11); but in the next speech he goes farther; 9 § 70 ἐγὼ νῆ Δι' ἐρῶ καὶ γράψω δέ. ἀτολμοὶ καὶ μαλακοί : 19 § 206 τίνα δ' οὗτοι μὲν ἀτολμοὶ καὶ δειλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φασὶν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δ' εὐλαβῆ; ἐμέ. Aeschines (2 § 106) makes Dem. say in Macedonia: ἄνθρωποι οὐτοσί (Aeschines) παραχῆς καὶ τόλμης ἐστὶ μετ' ἐς, ἐγὼ δ' ὁμολογῶ μαλακοὺς εἶναι καὶ τὰ δεινὰ πόρρωθεν δεδιέναι.

529. οὕτω . . μήτε : § 51.

(530) πολλὰν πάνυ : best

taken together. πάντων τῶν ἱταμῶς is supposed however (by Blass) to be put for τῶν πάντων ἱταμῶς, the latter involving hiatus and οὐκ οὐκ. τῶν ἱταμῶς πολιτευομένων, 'your go-a-head politicians.' ἱταμῶς, like ἱταμός, belongs to the language of comedy (Euphron and Alexis) and ordinary life. 23 § 1 ἱταμῶς οὕτως, 19 § 233 ἱταμώτερον μετὰ ταῦτα ἐχρήσατο τῷ βίῳ, 25 § 24 ἱταμόν γάρ ἡ πονηρία καὶ τολμηρὸν καὶ πλεονεκτικόν.

§ 69 l. 533. κρίνει, 'tries,' i.e. 'puts on trial,' 'prosecutes' (2 §§ 25, 29). δημεύει, 'confiscates,' i.e. proposes, and brings about, confiscation of goods. Possibly the victims of both the verbs are wealthy citizens. δίδωσιν, not 'bribes' (Kennedy) but 'makes presents' to the people by offering them a share in the confiscated property (13 § 1 τοῖς μένουσι καὶ διδοῦσι τὰ κοινά, and 3 § 31). κατηγορεῖ, 'accuses,' a more general term than κρίνει, probably referring to harangues before the Assembly rather than prosecutions in the law-courts. The sense of the first pair of verbs is echoed by that of the second, in inverse order. 'The simplicity and sincerity of this fine passage' (says Brougham) 'are quite moving.'

535. ἐνέχυρον, 'a pledge,' Meier and Schömann pp. 690 f., Lipsius. πρὸς χάριν λέγειν: § 1. (536) ἀσφαλῶς θρασύς, 'bold without danger' (K), 'daring with very little hazard' (Brougham).

539. μηδέν after ὅστις = εἰ τις. τὸ βέλτιστον (λέγει).

540. πολιτεῖαν, 'policy.' (541) ἡ τύχη: cp. 4 § 14 and 5 § 11; also 2 § 22.

542. ὑπεύθυνον . . παρέχει, i.e. in case he is compelled to adopt a policy more under the control of fortune than prudence, he still takes the responsibility on himself (Brougham). 18 § 189 δίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ βουλομένῳ, Thuc. vi 23 § 3. (543) οὕτως—τοιούτως ἐστίν: 'the rhythm and inversion of the Greek' (says Brougham) 'are here beautiful . . the particle γέ gives also much beauty to the simple diction.' For καὶ . . γε cp. 6 § 29.

§ 70 l. 544. τῆς παρ' ἡμέραν χάριτος, 'an ephemeral popularity,' 3 § 22 τῆς παρατυχῆς ἥδονῆς καὶ χάριτος, 6 § 27. So Burke, in his *Speech at Bristol*, 'I am to look, indeed, to your opinions; but to such opinions as you and I *must* have five years hence. I was not to look to the *flash of the day*' (*Works* i 260 b, ed. 1834).

546. τοσοῦτον δέω, personal constr., as in 9 § 17.

548. εἰπέ μοι: 4 § 10. εὖ δέ: δέ introduces an

objection. 9 § 16; 23 § 58 *εἰ τις ἐκεῖν' ὑπολαμβάνει, τοῦ δὲ γένουτ' ἂν ταῦτα; τί κωλύει καὶ λέγειν, τίς δ' ἂν ἀποκτείνει Χαρῖδημος*; Isaeus 8 § 24 *οὐδὲ τίς εἰ; σοὶ δὲ τί προσήκει θάπτειν; ἡμῖν*: *Dat. commodi*.

549. *ἔχων* . . *εἰπεῖν*, 'though I could mention'; Goodwin *MT.* § 842.

550. *τρηρᾶρχίας* κτλ.: on the *λητουργία* undertaken by Dem. see on 21 §§ 154-7, 161; and on the *τρηρᾶρχία* and *χορηγία*, *Intro.* to Dem. *Lept.* pp. iv-x, ed. Sandys. The mention of such claims to consideration is frequent, e.g. 20 § 151; 36 § 41; *Lys.* 9 § 31. *χρημάτων εἰσφοράς*: see 4 § 7 *εἰσφέρειν*.

551. *λύτους αἰχμαλώτων*: Athenians captured in the Olynthian war, 19 §§ 169 f. 552. *φιανθρωπίας*, 'acts of liberality'; Pl. like *εθνοῖαι* (§ 25) and *εὐπορίαι* (§ 8). *οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποιμι*: a form of *praeteritio*. While professing to be silent of these services, the orator incidentally mentions them. [Rufinus] p. 62 *omissio, cum quaedam negamus nos dicere et tamen dicimus*.

§ 71. 1. 553. *ἀλλ' (εἴποιμ' ἂν) ὅτι*. (554) *δυνάμενος ἂν*: § 52; 23 § 107 *ἐλὼν καὶ θυηθεὶς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔχειν, παρέδωκε*, *Lys.* 21 § 20 *οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενος* . . Goodwin *MT.* § 842. *ὥσπερ καὶ ἑτέροι*: 4 § 8 *ὅσα περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις*.

555. *κατηγορεῖν* . . *χαρίζεσθαι* . . *δημεύειν* repeats in inverse order the last three verbs of § 69 *κρίνει δημεύει δίδωσιν κατηγορεῖ*, using *χαρίζεσθαι* instead of *δίδοναι*, and leaving *κρίνει* to be expressed by *τάλλα*—*ποιεῖν*. Conjunctions are inserted here, but omitted there.

556. *οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐν κτλ.*, 'not one of these positions did I ever take up.' Isocr. 11 § 23 *πρεσβυτέρους ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων ἔταξεν*, ib. 5 § 151 *ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις σὲ τάττουσι*, Dein. 2 § 20 *τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένοις*, Xen. *Cyr.* v 4, 3 *ὅ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ταχθεὶς*, and viii 3, 28 *ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐτάχθη*. For the metaphor cp. 18 § 62 *ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθ' ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας ἐμ' ἐγώ*, and note on 3 § 36. 557. *οὐδὲ προήχθη*, 'nor was I induced, tempted' (to do so); cp. 18 § 208. That Dem. was true to the professions here made, may be seen from the story told by Theophrastus:—once, when the people were clamouring for him to take up an unrighteous prosecution, he replied *ὑμεῖς ἐμοί, ὦ ἀνδ., συμβούλῃ μὲν κἀν μὴ θέλητε χρῆσεσθε, συκοφάντῃ δ' οὐδ' ἂν θέλητε* (Plut. *Dem.* 14).

559. *διαμένω*: still dependent on *ὅτι* (553); more emphatic than *διατελῶ* (18 §§ 1, 57), which is added in the margin of S to connect the omission between *ἀλλά* and *λέγων*, and is

preferred by Cobet, who adds: *nemo unquam Graccorum ita locutus est διαμένω λέγων* (MC. 467).

560. *πείθουσθε*: the form is not found elsewhere in Dem., who has however, in 23 § 116, *ἀν ἐμοὶ πείθησθε*, followed by Fut. Ind. *μείζους ἀν εἴητε ἢ νῦν*. He might have said *μείζους ἐσέσθε πάντων*, but he uses the less strong phrase to avoid *φθόρος* or *πέμεις*. 18 § 321 *ὅσο . . τὸν φόβει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ*: *οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἐμῶντοῦ λόγωντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν*, 20 § 115, Cic. *Phil.* 12 § 21. 561. *ὥς*, sc. *ἐστίν* or *ἀν εἴη*.

§ 72.1. 562. *οὐδ' ἐμοίγε*: 5 § 16. *δικαίου*, 'honest.'

563. *ἐγὼ . . ἔσομαι*: more vivid than *αὐτὸς . . ἐσται*. By *ἐγὼ* he does not mean himself alone; but any single citizen. For example 'myself,' or any other honest man. Cp. 9 §§ 17, 18. *Le "moi" qu'il met en scène est un "moi" général* (Weil).

564 f. *τὸν ἄλλων ὕστατος*, 'the last of the rest,' 'the last among the rest,' i.e. 'the last of all.' 20 § 62 *μόνος τῶν ἄλλων*; Thuc. i 1 § 1; Tac. *Agr.* 34 *celerorum Britannorum fugacissimi*.

568. *ἐκεῖνο* refers to *τὸ ῥᾶστον*, although it is nearer; and *τοῦτο* to *τὸ βέλτιστον*, although it is more remote. But the 'most easy' course, being rejected, is farther from the speaker's thought; the 'most profitable,' being embraced, is nearer to it (so GHSchaefer). Cp. *ἐκείνως* in § 64, and *ἐκείνος* in 3 § 33 of what has immediately gone before.

568. *αὐτὴ βαδίζει*, 'will move, incline, of her own accord.' A 'gnomic' use of the Fut. Goodwin *MT.* § 66.

569. *προάγεισθαι*: *τοὺς ἄλλους*, Middle. Isocr. 4 § 91 *προάγεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τὸ διαναυμαχεῖν*.

570. *τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην*: an emphatic conclusion to a sober and dignified description of the characteristics of the 'honest citizen' (§§ 68-71), already described as *χρησῖμος* (543) and *δίκαιος* (562), and as one of the *ἀρίους πολίτας τῆς πόλεως* (546), and of the *ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν* (566) (Rehdantz-Blass).

§ 73 l. 571. *τοίνυν*: transitional, as often in Dem. *Lept.* τινὸς ἔκουσα—*λέγοντος*: § 4. 572. *ὡς ἀρ(α):* §§ 4, 57; 9 § 47. *λέγω . . τὰ βέλτιστα*: Dem. has laid

such stress on *τὸ βέλτιστον* in §§ 69, 72 that he feels open to the taunt that, although he is always 'advising for the best,' he does nothing that is practical. He replies by throwing the responsibility for this on the *people*; he thus leads up to an effective peroration (Rehdantz-Blass).

573. *ἄλλ' ἢ, πλὴν*, 'except': [7] §§ 7, 14, 18; 24 §§ 59, 98, 99; 29 § 7; [33] § 17; [34] § 7; [50] §§ 7, 14, 60; 56 § 11;

Proem. 31 § 2; also Thuc. iii 71 § 1; iv 27 § 2; v 60 § 1; vii 50 § 3. Explained by Suidas as = *ei μή* or simple *ή*, and in the *Etymologicum Magnum* as standing for *ἀλλὰ ή*. This explanation is accepted by Krüger (69, 4, 6), Voemel (*Proleg.* pp. 47 f.), Kühner (*Gr. Gr.* ii § 535, 6), and others. The Paris ms of Dem. always has *ἀλλ' ή* or *αλλ ή*, never *ἀλλ' ή*. *ἀλλ' ή* is only used after a negative, or a quasi-negative, and may be described as a complex equivalent to either *ἀλλά* or *ή*. 'By the *ἀλλά* the exception to the negative which has preceded is stated flatly: the *ή* allows the negative statement to revive, subject to this exception alone' (Riddell's *Digest of Platonic Idioms* p. 175).

ἀλλ' ή is however derived from *ἄλλο ή* by GHSchaefer on 14 § 12 (p. 181, 13) *οὐδὲν οὐν ἀλλ' ή βαψωθήσονται*, by Klotz on Devarius *de particulis* ii 31-50, by Buttmann *Gk. Gr.* p. 437 ET, by Madvig *Gk. Syntax* § 91 R 2, and by Rehdantz in his *Index* to Dem. p. 43^a. This view is hard to reconcile with passages like Herod. ix 109 *οὐδὲς ἀλλ' ή ἐκέλευη*. It also seems inconsistent with the fact that *ἀλλ' ή* is often preceded by some inflexion of *ἄλλος*, e.g. Plato *Rep.* 553 D *οὐδὲν ἄλλο . . ἀλλ ή*; 429 B *τίς εἰς ἄλλο τι . . ἀλλ' ή*; *Phaedo* 81 B, 97 D; Dem. [25] § 68 *ἐκ τίνος τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλ' ή*; 37 § 53 *μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς εἶναι ἀλλ' ή τοῦ πλείονος*; [59] § 73 *οὐδεὶς ἄλλος . . ἀλλ' ή ή γυνή*; [34] § 16 *οὐδαμῶθεν ἄλλοθεν σκοπῶν ἀλλ' ή*, cp. [56] § 6 *οὐκ εἰς ἕτερον ἐμπόριον οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ή εἰς Ἀθήνας*. (These, with the passages above referred to, are all the exx. in Dem.).

From *ἀλλ' ή* = *ἀλλά ή* we must distinguish the use of *ἄλλο* followed after an interval by *ή*, as in §§ 10, 27; 3 § 1; 9 § 2; [43] § 49 *οὐκ ἀνέχοι . . ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅτι οὐν ἀποκρίνασθαι ὁ παῖς ή δτι . .*

ἄλλο comes immediately before *ή* in Thuc. ii 16 § 2 *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ή πόλιν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος*; iv 120 § 3; vii 75 § 5; viii 5 § 1 and perhaps viii 28 § 2. Cp. iv 14 § 3 *ἄλλο οὐδὲν ή ἐκ γῆς ἐνανυμύχουν* and iii 39 § 2 *τί ἄλλο οὗτοι ή ἐπεβούλευσαν; λόγοι*, 'mere words,' or 'speeches'; 8 § 13; 2 § 12.

574. *ἔργων καὶ πράξεως*: 6 § 3. *ὡς ἔχω*: sc. *γνώμης* 23 § 194; 3 § 8 *ὡς ἔχουσι*, and with other Adverbs, *πῶς* (2 § 17; 3 § 27), *οὕτως* (9 § 46), *ἄλλως* (3 § 6), *ἀργῶς* (6 § 3), *ἡδέως* (5 § 15), *ἡδίον* (4 § 51 and 9 § 63), *τάναρτια* (9 § 41 and 1 § 10).

575. *λέγω . . καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίνομαι*: 6 § 31. (576) *οὐδ' εἶναι*: *ne esse quidem*. 'I consider that one, who counsels you, really has no other function (business, duty) than to give the best advice.' *ἔργον* echoes *δαδ' ἔργων* (574).

§ 74 l. 580. *Τυρόθεος*—*Εὐβόλας σφίξαν*: a reference to the successful expedition of 357 B.C. (4 § 17; 1 § 8).

ἐκεῖνος: of a famous person, as in 3 § 21 and 18 § 219; of an infamous person in 2 § 19. (582) κατεδουλοῦντ(ο): tentative Imperf.

λέγων, in the course of his speech, referring back to ἰδημηγόρησεν.

583. εἰπέ μοι: 4 § 10. ἔφη (as in 6 § 25) throws additional emphasis on the preceding word βουλευέσθε, which marks the outburst of an indignant question (as noticed by Hermogenes iii 340). Θηβαῖος: said with contempt.

ἔχοντες; 'when (or 'while') you have.'

584. χρήσεσθε: αὐτοῖς. A similar series of vigorous questions may be found in 21 § 116. (585) ὁ ἄνδρες 'Αθ.: by its position between θάλατταν and τριήρων implies an appeal to Athens as a great maritime power.

§ 75 l. 588. ἐποιήσατε . . ὑμεῖς: both emphatic. (589) τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπράχθη, 'the deed was done.' 18 §§ 24, 286; 22 § 42; 23 § 4; 36 § 53; 45 § 16. In Dem. this combination of the cognate verb and subst. is most common in political and legal phrases, e.g. with πομπάς (4 § 26), πόλεμον (2 § 7), κατηγορίας (8 § 8), λόγους (9 § 41), ἐπιστολάς (4 § 37).

εἰ . . εἶπεν . . ὥσπερ εἶπεν κτλ., 'had he given the very best advice, as indeed he did, and had you remained idle,' etc. Here we have two conditions (1) εἰ εἶπεν, which was actually fulfilled (Goodwin *MT.* § 402) and (2) εἰ ἀπερραθυμήσατε κτλ., which was not fulfilled (ib. § 410). Though these conditions are co-ordinate in form, the first is practically subordinate to the second, the sentence being equivalent to εἰ δὲ τᾶριστ' εἰπόντος ἐκείνου, ὑμεῖς ἀπερραθυμήσατε.

590. ὥς οἷόν τε τᾶριστα, 'if he had given the very best advice possible': τᾶριστα may be defended by τὰ βέλτιστα (572): [10] § 55 λόγους ὥς οἷόν τε ἀληθεστάτους, Isocr. 2 § 17 τὰς διαθέσεις ὥς οἷόν τε ταχίστας, Plato *Rep.* 403 D σώμα . . ὥς οἷόν τε βέλτιστον, Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 582 n. 4. Cobet (*MC.* 467) objects to the Article and prefers ὥς οἷόν τ' ἄριστα; but this would have meant, 'if he had spoken as excellently as possible,' ἄριστα being the superlative of εὔ.

The above note is confirmed by a decree of 342, the summer of the year before the delivery of this speech. We there find ὅς ἂν δοκῇ ἄριστα (Adverb) λέγων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆναι . . διατετελέκειν, followed by λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα, and later by τοῖς δὲ λέγουσιν καὶ πράττουσιν τὰ βέλτιστα and διετέλεσαν τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλευόντων (Dittenberger no. 333).

591. ἀπερραθυμήσατε: only found here in Dem. (who has ραθυμία in 4 § 8; 9 § 5); also used absolutely in Plato *Rep.* 449 C. As in ἀποδειλιᾶν, the prep. implies shirking (owing to

carelessness or cowardice).

592. τῶν τότε συμβάντων τῇ πόλει, 'the results which then accrued to Athens.' Cp. the account in Aeschin. 3 § 85.

593. περὶ ὧν (=τούτων δ) ἄν—λέγω, 'with regard to all that I may now be saying'; περὶ ὧν ἄν ὁ δεῖν(αι) εἴη, '... all that any other man may say' (in the future). In mentioning himself in the same breath as 'any chance speaker,' the orator makes a skilful assumption of modesty like that in 6 § 33 l. 259.

595. ζητεῖτε, 'require,' 'demand,' 'expect': 4 § 33.

τὰ δὲ βέλτιστα ἐπιστήμῃ λέγειν is sometimes taken as= τὸ δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα δ (or ὡς) ἐπίσταται λέγειν, 'to say (advise) the things best in his knowledge'= 'to give the best advice he knows' (so GHSchaefer); similarly ἐπιστήμῃ λέγειν, 'speak with knowledge' ('dative of manner') is regarded as opposed to τυχεῖν λέγοντα by Abbott and Matheson, who compare *De Cor.* 172, where Dem. claims to have specially studied the question. But he there uses the words εἰδώς and εἰσαεσθαι, and ἐξηρακώς, neither ἐπιστήμῃ nor any part of ἐπίστασθαι; and it is very doubtful whether he would have used ἐπιστήμῃ λέγειν in the sense above suggested, though in Plato's *Ion* 536 c (quoted by Voemel) we have οὐ γὰρ τέχνη οὐδ' ἐπιστήμῃ περὶ Ὀμήρου λέγεις. Both of Weil's proposals, τὰ δὲ βέλτισθ' ἄν (or τὸ δ' ἄν βέλτιστ') ἐπιστηθῇ λέγειν, are open to the objection that ἐπιστηθῇ does not occur in Dem., the only part of ἐπίσταμαι there found (apart from the Present and Imperfect) being the Future ἐπιστήσεσθε (§ 60). ἐπιστήμῃ, again, is not found in Dem., though it occurs four times in the spurious *Eroticus*. H Wolf was for omitting the word, and Brougham admits that it adds little to the passage and is not in the manner of Dem. It is suggested by Blass that ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ arose from a repetition of ΒΕΛΤΙΣΤΗΜΗ, and that the right reading is δ δὲ βέλτιστ' ἢ μὴ [λέγειν], 'the things that are (the advice that is) the best or otherwise.' But Dem. is not here concerned with orators who give advice that is 'otherwise than best'; he is concerned with himself as one who can say (as his very opponents admit), λέγω . . . αἰετὶ τὰ βέλτιστα (572); and in view of that passage, and the drift of the whole paragraph, λέγειν is the last word which should be omitted. (δ δὲ β. ἢ μὴ λέγει is suggested by Slameczka.) λέγειν is not the Inf. after βέλτιστα (*optima dicere*), but it has τὰ βέλτιστα as its Object (as in § 57; 3 §§ 11, 12, 18; 9 §§ 2, 56; [10] § 58), and is itself the Object of ζητεῖτε (6 § 25). It is best to retain λέγειν as a necessary contrast to ἔργα, the Object of the previous clause; also to omit ἐπιστήμῃ, and to take τὰ δὲ βέλτιστα λέγειν as

= τὸ δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν, which may have been avoided because of ∪ ∪ ∪.

To account for the intrusion of ἐπιστήμη, it may be suggested that the original reading was perhaps ἃ δὲ βέλτιστ' ἐνεστὶ λέγειν. The last two words occur in 19 §§ 204, 215; and ἐνεστὶν εἰπεῖν in 6 § 13; 9 § 63; 19 §§ 70, 129; 23 § 47; 29 § 14; 36 § 43. Cp. Aristot. *Poet.* vi 16 τὸ λέγειν δύνασθαι τὰ ἐνόντα καὶ τὰ ἀρμόττοντα, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ ρητορικῆς ἔργον ἐστίν. This suggestion is confirmed by the general sense of the passage as given by CRKennedy:—'for action look to yourselves, to the orator for the best instruction in his voice.'

§ 76 l. 597. ἐν κεφαλῇ: 20 § 163; 24 § 5; 32 § 13; 40 § 35; 2 § 31 λέγω δὴ κεφάλαιον. ἃ λέγω φράσας, 'having stated what I am proposing'; φράσας refers to form, λέγω to a substance of his advice. In Plato *Gorg.* 463 E πῶς λέγεις; 'what do you mean?' is answered by περάσσομαι φράσαι, 'I shall endeavour to state' (Weil). Aristophanes ap. Ath. 450 C οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι λέγεις. B. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς φράσω; Aeschin. 1 § 129; Xen. *Anab.* ii 4, 18 φράξουσιν ἃ λέγει; *Hell.* iv 8, 16; Aristoph. *Aves* 1381 ὅ τι λέγεις εἰπέ μοι. In Isocr. 15 § 171 ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν is distinguished from σαφῶς φράσαι. Thus φράξω implies making a thing intelligible by language, while λέγειν refers rather to the substance of what is said.

καταβῆναι: ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος (19 § 113). Such phrases are often used to introduce the epilogue, as in *Lys.* 12 § 92, *Isaens* 7 § 43, *Hyper. pro Eux.* col. 48, *Lycurg.* § 146, *Aeschin.* 2 § 183, *Pseudo-Dem.* 58 § 57. In *Dem.* the phrase occurs in some of his longer speeches, end of Or. 20, 21, 23. In all such cases he makes it lead up to a real point.

The present epilogue answers to the type recommended by Quintilian xi 3, 180 *epilogus, si enumerationem rerum habet, desiderat quandam concisorum continuationem*. Aristotle *Rhet.* iii 19 recommends the use of λέξεις ἀσύνδετοι in a peroration.

598. χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν: § 46 l. 350. τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν —συνέχων: § 17 l. 121, and § 46 l. 351.

600. μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν: the alleged misconduct of the troops of Diopithea. ὅσοις (= τοσοῦτοις ὅσα) ἂν τις αἰτιάσθαι (16), 'by reason of the many details which one might criticise.' Causal Dat. (*Kühner Gr. Gr.* ii § 425, 7), as in § 3 with ἀποδρᾶναι, 9 § 18 κωδυνεύσατε, 9 § 40 κρῖνοι. (601) τὸ ὅλον, 'the force as a whole.' καταλύοντας: of 'dismissing' or 'disbanding' a body of soldiers, *Herod.* vii 16, 2 καταλύει τὸν στόλον.

601. πρόσβας ἐκπέμπειν: this advice was followed in the

next year, 340 B.C., when Dem. was sent as envoy to the Chersonesus and Byzantium, Hypereides to Rhodes and probably to Chios, and Callias of Chalcis to the Peloponnesus (19 § 79; ASchaefer ii 481-4³).

602. *νοθετήσαντας*, 9 § 73, where there is the same asyndeton.

603. *παρά* c. Acc., 'beside'; as in 20 §§ 111, 160 *πάρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνο ἐπὶ ἀκούσατέ μου*, τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δωροδοκοῦντας, 'those who receive bribes for (in connexion with) public affairs,' on the understanding that they will influence the policy of Athens in the interests of Philip. *ἐπὶ* c. Dat. has a somewhat different sense in 6 § 34 *ἐφ' οἷς* ('services for which') *αὐτοῖς συνίστασι δωροδοκηκότες*, and in Lys. 25 § 19 and 29 § 11 *ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις* ('to the detriment of your interests') *δωροδοκοῦντι*. τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι must not be taken separately in the sense of 'statesmen,' which is its meaning with the Pl. of *ὦν* in 2 § 12 and 9 § 12.

605. *μισεῖν* (469) *πανταχοῦ*, 'execrate them at all times and places' (K). οἱ μέτριοι κτλ., 'men of moderation, who give proof of their integrity.' 606. *καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτλ.*: to be taken not with *δοκῶσι* but with *εἰ βεβουλευέσθαι*; Thuc. i 43 § 4 *τὰ ἄριστα βουλευέσθε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς*. For the sense cp. 19 §§ 231 f. and 343.

§ 77 l. 607. τοῖς πράγμασιν *χρησθε*, 'attend to your interests.' (608) *ὀλιγορροῦντες ἀπάντων* (516). (609) *ἴσως ἂν ἴσως*: 3 § 33. *βελτίω γίνονται*: sc. *τὰ πράγματα* (125).

610. *καθιδεῖσθαι*: i.e. merely remain seated and inactive; 2 §§ 23 f. *καθήμεθ' οὐδὲν ποιῶντες*; 4 §§ 9, 44. The same sense is less prominent in 8 § 53 and 9 § 70; while in 6 § 4 and 8 § 30 it solely refers to the audience being seated in the Assembly.

ἄχρι τοῦ θορυβῆσαι—σπουδάζοντες: *usque ad applausum et laudationem rebus intenti* (H Wolf); 'zealous only as far as (to the point of),' 'limiting your zeal to,' 'acclamation and applause.' *θορυβῆσαι*: here in good sense as in § 30 and 6 § 26; Aeschin. 1 §§ 82, 83; Isocr. 12 §§ 2, 264, 233; Plato *Protag.* 319 c, *Symp.* 198 a, *Euthyd.* 276 b; Aristoph. *Eq.* 547: in bad sense in 5 § 15; 19 § 113; 21 § 194; 25 § 95; 57 § 50; *Prooem.* 56 § 3; Lys. 12 § 73; Aeschin. 1 §§ 69, 78, 74; 3 § 122; Lycurgus 52; Isocr. 15 § 172. Both senses appear in Aeschin. 2 § 51 *θορυβησάντων ἐν αὐτῷ* (Dem.) *τῶν μὲν, ὡς δεινὸς τις εἴη καὶ σύνταμος, τῶν δὲ πλειόνων, ὡς ποταρὸς καὶ φθονερός*.

Plato *Rep.* 492 B συγκρατούμενοι εἰς ἐκκλησίας σὺν πολλῷ θορύβῳ τὰ μὲν ψέγουσι τῶν λεγομένων ἢ πραττομένων, τὰ δὲ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἐκβοῶντες καὶ κροτοῦντες. It is ambiguous in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 622 ἦν γοῦν ἡμεῖς θορυβήσωμεν.

611. ἀναδιδόμενοι, 'apt to shirk,' or 'shrink back'; § 50 l. 389.

612. ὅστις . . ἐνρήσεται: after Negative, Goodwin *MT.* § 536.

613. σῶσαι: although the sentence as a whole implies despair, the last word is a word of good omen, as in all the three *Philippics* and in the third *Olynthiac* (see note on 4 § 51). In the *Second* and *Third Olynthiacs* the good omen belongs to the whole of the final phrase.

NOTES ON THE THIRD PHILIPPIC (OR. IX)

§ 1 l. 1. λόγων γιγνομένων: see note on 6 § 1 λόγοι γίγνωνται.

2. ὀλίγου δεῖν: absolute Inf., lit. 'wanting little'; 'almost'; a choicer phrase than σχεδόν (Dionys. Dem. c. 9). Isocr. 6 § 65 τὰς στάσεις ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν γιγνομένας. Goodwin *MT.* § 779 (a). ὧν = τούτων δ.

3. τὴν εἰρήνην: 246 B.C. ἐποιήσατο: 8 § 5 l. 39.

5. οἷδ' ὅτι, 'I am sure,' 4 § 12; 5 § 10; 25 § 27 καὶ πάντων εὖ οἷδ' ὅτι βουλομένων λαχεῖν. Goodwin *MT.* § 705. φησάντων emphasised by γε (in contrast with ποιοῦσι), and followed by ἄν, implying 'if any one were to ask him.' The Aor. Part. with ἄν here (as in 3 § 8; 8 § 52) represents the Aor. Opt. with ἄν (Goodwin *MT.* § 215). Cp. 24 § 204 εὖ οἷδ' ὅτι πάντες ἄν, εἰ τις ἔροιτο, φήσαιτε, 19 §§ 7, 206. εἰ καὶ, 'although.'

6. ποιοῦσι τοῦτο, referring to the sequel, = λέγουσι καὶ πράττουσι, and not φασίς understood from the preceding participle, φησάντων γ(ε).

7. ὅπως . . παύσεται: 1 § 2; Goodwin *MT.* § 339.

8. εἰς τοῦ(το) appropriate to ἐπηγγέμενα rather than to προσιμένα, the latter usually requiring ὅσω. ἐπηγγέμενα, 'betrayed,' ὑπο- implying underhand dealing. Aor. Pass. in 5 § 10; 6 § 31; Pres. Ind. Act. 8 § 63. προσιμένα, 'sacrificed,' note on 1 § 9. Cic. *pro Rosc. Am.* 38 omnia ad perniciem profugata atque perditā.

9. δέδοικα μὴ—ῆ, 'I fear that, while it is ill-omened, it may also prove true' (Goodwin *MT.* § 92). βλάσφημον: 25 § 45 ἔδωκε, ἵνα μὴ πολλὰ καὶ βλάσφημ' ἀναγκάζωμαι διεξέναι. βλάσφημεῖν is more frequent, e.g. 18 §§ 10, 82; 19 §§ 210, 213;

20 §§ 37, 115; and βλασφημία, e.g. 15 § 2; 18 §§ 34, 95, 123, 126, 256, 272.

Those who, instead of accepting *ἢ*, understand *ἰσὺν*, quote 19 § 96 *ἐν ἰσὺν καὶ μὴ λαβήσαντες ἔγνωσαν*, but the *ἰσὺν* is there used of a *fact* in the *past*, and does not justify the *Ind.* here. ASpengel (*Beitrag* 301 f.) makes *δέδοικα*—ἀληθές a parenthesis, and treats the next sentence as an anacoluthon.

10. *καὶ λέγειν*: contrasted with *καὶ χειροτονεῖν*, 'vote' by show of hands. (11) *οἱ παριόντες*: 6 § 3.

12. *ἡμελλε*: assimilated to the tense of *ἐβούλοντο* (11). Cp. § 5 & *προσῆκε*. Goodwin *MT.* §§ 559, 528. *ἔξαιν*, with *Adv.*, commoner than *σχίσαιν* (1 § 10; 5 § 18). *οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῖμαι δύνασθαι*: Goodwin *MT.* § 220. *ἂν δύνασθαι* (τὰ *πράγματα*) = *ἂν ἐδύνατο* (ib. §§ 205, 683).

§ 21. 14. *οὐ παρ' ἑν*, 'not owing to one cause (only)'. For *παρὰ* cp. 4 § 11. *εἰς καὶ* (or *ἡ*) *δύο*, often contrasted with 'many'. Cic. *Acad. Pr.* ii 22 *non ex una et duabus sed ex multis*. *οὐδὲ (παρὰ) δύο*: Prep. omitted after *οὐδὲ* (§§ 19, 49), as after *καὶ* (5 § 18), *καὶ οὐ* (9 § 72), *ἡ* (5 §§ 14, 16; 9 §§ 15, 63), *ἀλλὰ* (1 § 5), etc. (Westermann).

16. *διὰ τοῦς*: 5 § 22. (17) *χαρῖσθαι*: 8 § 40; here = *πρὸς χάριν λέγειν* (8 § 69). *μᾶλλον*: slightly redundant with *προαιρουμένων*. *τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν*: 8 § 73.

18. *τινές*: e.g. Eubulus (ASchaefer ii 469²). 19. *ἐν οἷς*, relative followed by antecedent *ταῦτα*: 'seeking to maintain a position (state of things) in which they themselves enjoy reputation and power.' For *ἐν* cp. § 56 *τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν τινές*. With *εὐδοκμεῖν* in Thuc. ii 37 § 1, Isocr. 4 §§ 45, 59, 76; 7 § 20; 15 § 302.

21. *οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἑμὰς οἴονται δεῖν εἶπαι*: this clause, printed in smaller type, is omitted in the text of S and L and only added in the margin of those MSS. See Introduction p. lix, and cp. §§ 4, 7. The clause is regarded as a *sententia frigida* (Voemel) or *subtilis* (Schultz), but is defended by Spengel and Dräseke (p. 159) and retained by Weil and Blass.

22. *τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας*: 2 § 12. *αἰτιώμενοι* (§ 2) *καὶ διαβάλλοντες*: 8 § 23.

23. *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἢ*: 8 §§ 10, 27, 62. *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ* (60) without *ποιοῦσιν* in 3 § 1. 24. *ἔπος* . . *λήφεται* (7).

αὕτη παρ' αὐτῆς: 5 § 4; 6 § 17; 8 §§ 22, 23; 9 § 73. *παρ' αὐτῆς* = *παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν*, the Greek *πόλις* being regarded as a body corporate consisting of citizens: *ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τοῖον* (Thuc. vii 77 § 7). On the charge here brought by Dem. *against certain of his opponents* see § 14 and 8 § 57.

25. *περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται*, 'will be busy with this'; 'engaged on this.' 54 § 27; Xen. *Anab.* iii 5, 7. Similarly 6 § 4 *περὶ ἀσπουδίζετε*. 26. *ἔξισται* echoing the preceding *ἔσται*.

§ 1. 27. *αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι* = τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ('lines of policy').

28. *ἔξω δ(4) κτλ.*: 8 § 3. 29. *μετὰ παρρησίας*: 3 § 3; 6 § 31; 8 §§ 21, 24. Cp. 3 § 32, and note on 4 § 51.

30. *παρ' ἑμῶν ὁργὴν γενέσθαι*: 8 § 57.

31. *σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὧς*: 25 § 3 *σκ. δ' οὐτως*, 45 § 11 *ὥδ' ὁ δὴ σκ. τὴν παρρησίαν κτλ.*: Plato *Gorg.* 461 E (Athens) *οὐ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πλειστή ἐστὶν ἐξουσία τοῦ λέγειν*. Dem. [58] § 68 *μηδ' ἐλπίδα ἡμῖν εἶναι μηδεμίαν τοῦ μετασχεῖν τῆς καὶ τοῖς ξένοις δεδομένης παρρησίας*. [Xen.] *de Rep. Ath.* 1, 12 *ιστηγόριαν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐποίησαμεν καὶ τοῖς μετοίκους πρὸς τοὺς ἀστούς*.

32. *ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων* (neuter), opp. to *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν* (37).

33. *ξένοις* = *μετοίκους*. (35) *ἔσοι . . λέγοντας*: 3 § 1. 5. *ἐξουσίας*, 'freedom.'

38. *παντάπασιν ἐξηλλάκατε*: a purposely brief phrase to express the contrast between absence of liberty of speech in the Councils of the state and its general diffusion elsewhere. Similarly Isocr. 8 § 14 complains *ὅτι δημοκρατίας οὐσης οὐκ ἔστι παρρησία*.

§ 4. 1. 38. *εἰ(τα)*: § 13; 1 § 24; 8 §§ 12, 35, 68. 39-42. *ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις—κινδυνεύειν* repeated from 8 § 34.

43. *οὕτω διάκεισθε*: 8 § 34 *ὕμῃς . . οὕτω διατεθήκασι*. *οὐχ ἔχω* (= *ἀπορῶ*) *τί λέγω*: § 54; Goodwin *MT.* § 677, *Harvard Studies* vii 1-12 and MLEarle in *Classical Review* x 422. (45) *ἔτοιμος* (*εἰμὶ*): 4 § 29.

46. *προεῖται* (9). 47 f. *ἔτι—ἐπανορθώσασθαι*: *Prooem.* 38 § 1 *ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐπανορθώσασθαι καὶ προάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον*.

§ 5. 1. 48. *καὶ παράδοξον μὲν κτλ.*: see 3 § 10; an apologetic phrase here used to introduce a remark (*τὸ χεῖριστον—βελτίω*) which on a former occasion was bluntly stated without any such preliminary apology (4 § 2).

48-55. *καὶ παράδοξον—γενέσθαι βελτίω* is omitted by EHoffmann. *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 118 (1876) 118, and by ASpengel (*Beitrag* 808), who also omits *νῦν δὲ—κεκίνησθε* (55-8), the statement that Athens had been entirely inactive being no longer true, as it was ten years before.

49-55. *τὸ χεῖριστον—βελτίω*: repeated with slight changes from 4 § 2.

51. οὐτε μικρὸν οὐτε μέγ' οὐδέν is an expansion of οὐδέν, emphasised by δ' ἀνδ. 'Aθ. in 4 § 2. οὐδ' ἐν is here preferred by Weil who quotes 19 § 17 οὐτε μικρὸν οὐτε μέγ' οὐδ' οἰοῖν (= 21 § 75), and 18 § 139 οὐδ' ἐστίν οὐτε. μείζων οὐ' ἐλαττω ψήφισμ' οὐδ' ἐν (not οὐδέν). (Cp. Rehdantz s.v. μικρὸς and Karlowa *Progr.* pp. 19 f.).

55. ὅπως ἦν followed by Aor. Inf. as in 4 § 2; cp. 1 § 14; *Prooem.* 30 and 38; 23 § 106; also with Gen. of Aor. Inf. in 53 § 68. Rare in Dem. with Fut. Inf. ([59] § 57) or Gen. of Fut. Inf. (32 § 31). On the other hand, ἐλπίζω and ἐλπιδας ἔχω regularly take the Fut. Inf. in Dem. (Karlowa *Progr.* 1883 p. 20; cp. *Classical Review* iv 109).

57. τῆς πόλεως δέ: for position of δέ cp. 6 § 3 οἱ αἰεὶ δέ.

58. οὐδὲ κεκίνησθε, (so far from being defeated) 'you have not even stirred'; you have not even advanced to meet the enemy, much less have you been defeated by him. Fut. in 8 § 37 οὐδὲν μᾶλλον κινήσεσθε, 9 § 51; 19 § 324.

II Wolf and Benseler make the words mean 'you have not even wavered.' Franke says: 'quiescit h.l. ambiguitas est. Nam quum laudare videtur Athenienses, quod ne loco quidem moti sunt, nedum ut pulsati sint ac victi, reprehendit potius, quod quieti se domi tenuerunt neque ad ulciscendas Philippi iniurias profecti sunt' (similarly Müller-Westermann, Rehdantz-Blass, and Tarbell). This implies that οὐδὲ κεκίνησθε has a double meaning 'you have not even stirred, either forwards or backwards,' and that its second meaning is 'you have not even been dislodged.' But there is no proof that κινεῖν means 'to dislodge,' 'cause to retreat.' In Eur. *Hec.* 940 νόστιμον ναὶ ἐκίνησεν πόδα only implies retreat because of the epithet νόστιμον, and in *Roech.* 765 κινεῖν πόδα is contrasted with retreat, πόλιν δ' ἐχώρουσιν οὐκ ἐκίνησαν πόδα. The passive is repeatedly used of the *forwards* movement of soldiers, e.g. Thuc. ii 81 § 8 οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸν ὅπλων κινήθηται.

§ 6 ll. 59-67. The general structure of this passage closely resembles that of 27 § 1.

60. οὐδὲν ἀλλ(ο) . . ἥ (23).

ἔδει: Goodwin *MT.* § 422.

τὸν παρόντα (10).

(61 f.) (συμβουλευεῖν) ὅπως (= ὅτω τρόπῳ, 'how') . .

ἀμυνόμεθα: Goodwin *MT.* § 313 init.

63. ἔνιοι: not the leading orators of the Macedonian party, the τινες of l. 65, but those of the people who calmly listen to them. Cp. 8 § 24 ἐνίοις ὑμῶν of part of the audience; though ἔνιοι is oftener applied to *speakers* (8 §§ 1, 67) or *politicians* (8 §§ 32, 52; 9 § 54).

Franke says: 'quos dicat, quisque hanc scripsit, nescio; sed perquam tamen mirum est nonnullos hoc loco eo esse diei animo ut latas criminationes admittant non plurimos aut nullas. Scilicet Demostheni non illud, quod pauci, sed quod maior pars populi decretura erat, timendum erat. Voemel replices: 'at per paucos istos multitudo ducebatur.' It may be added that, even if they were πολλοί, it would be politic for the orator to describe them as ἔνιοι.

πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντες: 8 § 56; Gen. Abs. (64)
 τῶν ὑμετέρων: 8 §§ 5, 36.

65. ἀνέχεσθαι ('endure') τινῶν . . λεγόντων: 19 § 16;
 Goodwin *M.T.* § 870.

66. ἡμῶν τινές, 'some of ourselves' in contrast with Philip;
 some of us *Athenians*, whether *κληροῦχοι* in the Chersonesus
 (8 § 6), or speakers of the 'patriotic' party at Athens (8 § 56)
 There is no difficulty in the change of person from ὑμετέρων (64)

67. διορθοῦσθαι περὶ τούτου, 'to get this matter set right
 (*Exp.* 1 § 3 διορθώσασθαι τάγροόμενα), *not* 'to take full security
 for' (L & S), as in [33] § 11.

§ 71. 68. ἔστι . . δέος, μή . . : 1 § 3. ὥς ἀμυνόμεθα
 γράψας κτλ., '(lest some one), by proposing and advising *that*
 we must (lit. shall) defend ourselves.' ὥς, 'that,' is here
 contrasted with ὅπως, 'how' (61). If we were all of one mind,
 the orator would only have to advise *how* we should best
 defend ourselves against Philip; but, in our present state of
 division, even if the orator advises that we should defend
 ourselves at all, he will be charged with a breach of the Peace.
 There is no ground for supposing (with Franke) that ὥς is here
 wrongly used for ὅπως.

70. λέγω καὶ διορίζομαι, 'state and define,' 18 § 40 δηλοῖ
 καὶ διορίζεται. The investigation closes with *ὀρίζομαι* in § 19.

71. εἰ is taken closely with διορίζομαι, in the sense of
 'whether,' by those who retain the sentence which it begins;
 but this (as observed by Weil) would require some verb of
 'consideration' like σκοπῶ rather than λέγω καὶ δ. Elsewhere
 διορίζεσθαι is followed by Acc. or Inf., or by *δοι* (19 § 233), or
ἔπος ([56] § 11). *ἐφ' ἡμῖν*: cp. *ἐφ' ὑμῖν* §§ 2, 55.

εἰ *ἐφ' ἡμῖν* ἔστι τὸ βουλευέσθαι περὶ τοῦ πότερον εἰρήνην
 ἄγειν ἢ πολεμεῖν δέει is regarded by Weil as an alternative for the
 next sentence, εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ
ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστι τοῦτο. If so, the first sentence must have originally
 begun with εἰ μὲν κτλ., and the μὲν been dropped when the sentence
 became dependent on διορίζομαι. §§ 6, 7 are entirely rejected by
 Schulz and others; εἰ *ἐφ' ἡμῖν*—πολεμεῖν δέει by Dräseke (p. 156)
 and Blass. Dräseke retains the rest of §§ 6, 7, agreeing with those who
 ascribe their omission to a mere accident. §§ 6, 7 are defended by Dalpiaz.
 On §§ 6, 7, see further in *Critical Notes* and in the latter part of the
 Introduction.

§ 81. 74. *ἴν' ὀντεθθεν ἀρξομαι* (21 § 43 *ἴν' ἐκ τούτων ἀρξομαι*):
 these words belong to the redaction in which the argument begins at
 l. 73. Either they were part of the original draft, in which case §§ 6, 7
 were an afterthought, or, if the second redaction was the shorter one,
 they were inserted here on the omission of §§ 6, 7. The former seems
 more probable. They correspond in general sense to *ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ τοῦτο*
πρώτον—διορίζομαι in the longer redaction.

75. τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα—ἔξω : i.e. any one who maintains that peace is possible ought to propose resolutions and to act in such a manner as to give us some guarantee that Philip will not commit any further acts of aggression (esp. as regards the pass of Thermopylae); otherwise, he will only be paltering with the people (Weil). Cp. [7] § 22 and 8 §§ 4, 68.

77. ἕτερος : Philip, as in 5 § 17. (78) τοῦτομα separated from τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης by μὲν, just as τοῖς ἔργοις is separated from τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου by αὐτός. The result is a stronger emphasis on each item in the antithesis, as in 19 § 53 τὸ τε ψήφισμα τοῦτ' ἔλαβον τὸ τοῦ Φιλοκράτους καὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν ἐπύθοντο τὴν τοῦτου. The contrast between τοῦτομα and τὰ ἔργα also occurs in Aeschin. 3 § 251.

79. προβάλλει, 'puts forward' as a defence or as a specious plea (cp. 5 § 19 προστησόμενοι), rather than 'throws towards you' (like fodder for cattle). The latter is the view of Weil, followed by Blass: but in this sense we should have expected προσείει (see note on 3 § 31 l. 281).

81. φάσκειν, 'merely to assert,' 'profess' ('falsely' is implied); in emphatic position, dependent on βούλεισθε. placed late in the clause, like ἄν in 4 § 29.

82. ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος φάσκει εἰρήνην ἀγεῖν, οὐ διαφέρωμαι, 'I do not quarrel' with that; contrasted with ὁμολογῶ in [56] § 46 and in Plato *Hipp.* II 372 D.

§ 9 l. 83. ταύτην (= τοῦτο) is the Subject, assimilated in Gender to the Predicate εἰρήνην (cp. 19 § 221 ταύτην ἡγήσω σωτηρίαν). Conversely the Predicate ταύτην assimilated to the Subject εἰρήνην in 8 § 8 εἰ τὴν εἰρήνην ταύτην ὀρίσονται. Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 369, 1 a. ἔξ ἧς—ἔξει, 'which will enable Philip to master all else and attack you last' (K).

85. ἐκείνη παρ' ὑμῶν : sc. οὖσαν. He speaks of a state of things in which Philip has the benefit of peace on *your* part, while you enjoy no peace on *his* part. Sallust *Orat. Philipp.* 18 *ita illi a vobis pacem, vobis ab illo bellum suadet.*

87. τῶν . . χρημάτων : referring to bribes, as well as money spent on the preparation of war; Gen. of price with ἀνέσταν.

88. αὐτός : Nom. with Inf. as in § 74; 8 §§ 11, 45. πολεμεῖν contrasted with πολεμισθῆαι, and ὑμῖν with ὑφ' ὑμῶν, in inverse order.

§ 10 l. 90. εἰ περιμενομένην, 'if we mean to wait,' Future of 'present intention' (Goodwin *MT.* § 71). ὥς ἄν c. Aor. Subj. 'until'; ib. § 613, 3. See note on 8 § 41 l. 312.

92. εὐθέστατοι: εὐθέη in §§ 47, 73; 1 § 15; 5 § 25; 8 § 44; εὐθεία in § 51 and 2 § 6.

τὴν Ἀττικὴν . . . καὶ τὸν Παιραιᾶ: 8 § 7, here repeated in a still more emphatic form. βαδίζη: 6 § 36; 1 § 12.

94. οἷς (= τοῖς δ) τεκμαίρεσθαι, 'to judge,' from sure signs or proofs; c. Dat., as in Isocr. 4 § 141 εἰ δεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς γεγενημένοις τεκμαίρεσθαι, and ib. 6 § 59.

§ 11 l. 95. τοῦτο μὲν and τοῦτο δέ (100) introduce the first and second examples respectively, as in 20 § 59, and in Herod., Isocr., etc. Ὀλυνθίους: Introd. to *First Phil.* and *Olynthiacs* p. lxxviii. τετταράκοντ(α)—στάδια: more generally expressed in 8 § 59 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ.

96. δυοῖν θάτερον: Acc. Absolute, as in 18 § 139; 19 §§ 106, 176. Cic. *Tusc.* i 41 *alterum de duobus*. Similarly ἀμφοτέρᾳ in 1 § 14, and τοῖναντίον in 8 §§ 33, 50, 66, and 3 § 31.

97. αὐτόν: sc. μὴ οἰκεῖν. 'Either *they* must quit Olynthus or *he* Macedonia'; obviously Philip would not take the latter course: the Olynthians must therefore leave their city. (Rosenberg, following Cobet in expecting μὴ in the second clause, understands οἰκεῖν alone, 'or he must live in Macedonia only.')

98. πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, 'for all previous time'; of the *past*, as in § 22. εἴ τις . . . αἰτιάσαιτο: iterative Opt., 6 § 20 εἰ τις τι λέγει κατὰ Φιλίππου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους.

99 f. ἀγανακτῶν and πέμπων are Imperf. (100) τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους = οἱ ἀπολογήσονται. Cp. § 71; 4 § 49; Goodwin *MT*. § 840.

101. εἰς Φωκίας: 346 B.C. ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους: an exaggerated expression stated in more accurate terms in the sequel. Philip had repeatedly insisted on excluding the Phocians from the terms of alliance with Athens (19 § 321).

(102) πρὸς Φωκίαν: the presence of these envoys on the occasion of Philip's return from Thrace, *before* his march into Phocia, is attested by Justin viii 4 (ASchaefer ii 251² n.). It is here implied that they also attended him *on* his march. Grote c. 89 (viii 142, 146).

103. παρ' ἡμῶν, taken by Grote (viii 147) to 'denote the Athenian envoys (of whom Demosthenes was one).' But this is inconsistent with οἱ πολλοί. It must therefore mean 'at Athens.' ἥρξον, 'strongly maintained,' while Dem. opposed their contention. οἱ πολλοί: the people, misled by the promises of Philocrates and Aeschines.

104. *Θηβαίους*: in 5 § 10 Philip's partisans are described as promising that he would break up the city of Thebes.
 οὐ c. Inf. after *ἤρξεν* on the analogy of οὐ after *λέγω, νομίζω*, etc. (Goodwin *MT.* § 685). οὐ λυσινυτέλῃσιν: litotes, as in Deinarchus 1 § 60, Xen. *Cyr.* i 3, 9. *πάρῳδον εἰσω Πελῶν*: 5 § 20.

§ 12 l. 105. *Φεράς*: 8 § 59; [7] § 32. *ὡς φῶτος καὶ σύμμαχος*: even stronger than *ὡς πρὸς συμμαχούς* (101). The series of precedents quoted by Dem. to prove Philip's successive aggressions is in strictly chronological order; but each example gives a still stronger proof of his treachery. With the *Olynthians*, he threw off the mask when five miles off the town; against *Phocia*, he marched as 'an ally'; against *Pherae*, as 'a friend'; against *Oreos*, his treachery masked itself under the language of false friendship and satirical contempt. All these gradations of tone must have been effectively distinguished by the orator's delivery (Rehdantz-Blass). (106) *ἔχε καταλαβών*: Goodwin *MT.* § 47. Here the main emphasis falls on *ἔχε*. Philip had expelled Peitholaus, tyrant of Pherae, in 352 B.C., and again in 349; in 343 we find the Pheraeans refusing to aid Philip (19 § 320); in 342 he is described as having taken the town and placed a garrison in the acropolis ([7] § 32).

107. *ᾠρέταις*: §§ 33, 59; dependent on *πεπομφέναι*, but placed early for contrast with *Ὀλυνθίοις, Φωκίας, and Φεράς*. *τούτοις*: explained by *τὰ τελευτήτα*; the events are still fresh in the memory of the audience.

108. *ἐπισκεψομένους*, 'to visit' them; one of the regular terms for visiting in sickness; cp. 54 § 12 *τὴν τοῦ λατροῦ μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπισκοπούντων*, [59] § 56 *ἐβάδιζον γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ἡσθένει καὶ ἔρμος ἦν τοῦ θεραπεύοντος τὸ νόσημα, τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ νόσῳ φέρουσαι καὶ ἐπισκοποῦμεναι*, Isocr. 19 §§ 24, 30, Xen. *Cyr.* v 4, 10, viii 2, 5, *Mem.* iii 11, 10. The Latin grammarians Charisius and Diomedes (pp. 276, 462 Keil) quote the text as an example of *δοτεισμός*, or *allegoria cum urbanitate*.

109. *πυνθάνεσθαι*: the present vaguely used, like *ἀκούειν*, without any definite note of time; here practically Imperf. in sense.

110. *νοσοῦσι*: often used of a state smitten with the troubles of faction; see 2 § 14. *καὶ στασιάζουσιν* is here added as in Plato *Rep.* 470 c *νοσεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ στασιάζειν*: cp. Herod. v 28 *νοστήσασα στάσι*; Eur. *Herc.* 34 *στάσει νοσοῦσαν*. . . *πέλιν*; Tac. *Ag.* 32 *aegra municipia et discordantia*.

Perit mordacis dicti aculeus, addito importuno emblemate καὶ στασιάζουσι, vosseis de civitate dictum idem esse quod στασιάζειν nemo nescit. Sed haec erat Philippi εἰρωνεία, ut in vosseis luderet ac se misisse diceret τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους, qui aegrotos inviserent et currerent. Est operae pretium duos Demosthenis locos comparare:—2 § 14 Θερταλοῖς (+ποσοῦσι καὶ ΔΥΟ) στασιάζουσι καὶ τετραραγμένοις ἐβοήθησε, et 9 § 50 ἐπειδὴν δὲ πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς (+καὶ τετραραγμένους Δ) προσπίσῃ, ubi interpolatoris manus agnoscitur, ut tot aliis locis, ubi tamen nemini quidquam subolet (Cobet *VL* 327).

§ 13 l. 112. εἴ(α) (38): introducing an inference (1 § 24 etc.). οὗ ἐποίησαν—οὐδὲν ἄν κακὸν κτλ., 'who (if Philip had openly declared war against them) *could* have done him no harm, but *might* perhaps have guarded themselves against suffering any,' Goodwin *MT*. § 245. The 'conditioning action' (if Philip had openly declared war) is here unexpressed, and ἄν with Aorist Indic. is used to denote the consequence without implying whether it was or was not fulfilled (Postgate in *Camb. Philol. Trans.* III i 63 f.). The trans. 'would have done him no harm' is best avoided, because it seems to imply that (as matters actually stood) they 'had done him harm,' which was not the case. Cp. note on 6 § 36 ll. 280 f. ἦλθεν ἄν ποτε. The text is paraphrased in simpler form by Dionysius of *Dem.* 9 p. 979 εἴ(α) ὁλεσθε αὐτόν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἑώρα μηδὲν δυναμένους αὐτὸν διαθεῖναι κάκιον, φυλαξαμένους δὲ ἄν ἴσως μὴ παθεῖν, τοῦτον—βιάζεσθαι. εἴ(α) ὁλεσθ' αὐτόν, οὗ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἄν κακὸν is the reading of S and of the margin of B and F. All the other MSS have εἴ(α) ὁλεσθε οὗ μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτόν ἐδυνήθησαν ποιῆσαι κακόν. Dionysius, who quotes the passage in pp. 610, 948, 978, probably had the latter text before him (Spengel 1839 p. 174).

115. προλέγοντα is the corresponding Participle to ἐκ προφητείας (here only in Dem.) and to προείποι (122). Cp. [11] § 20 (Philip) προηγόρευκε τὸν πόλεμον, which ought to have been προείρηκε (cp. Cobet *VL* 35 f.).

116. ἴσως ἄν (8 § 41) κτλ., 'so long as you are willing to be deceived'; 18 § 20 ὀλίγου δεῖν . . ἐκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους.

§ 14 l. 118. ἀβελτερότατος, 'silliest'; used in Positive Masc. in [61] § 14; *Prooem.* 42 § 2; [34] § 41; Neuter in 19 § 338. ἀβελτερία in 19 §§ 98, 100, 119, 265, and [10] § 33.

119. τῶν ἀδικουμένων: emphatic position. (120) τῶν αὐτῶν τινάς: e.g. Diopetithes. ἐκείνος resumes with emphasis the subject of εἰη.

122. τρέπασθαι: ISOOR. 4 § 15 χρὴ διαλυσαμένους τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐχθρας ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον τραπέσθαι. (124) ἀναβάλλουσιν: 8 § 52.

§ 15 l. 126. ἔστιν δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς, δοτις: 24 § 157 φέρε γὰρ πρὸς Διὸς, ἔστιν δοτις ἀν . . . ποτ' ἐπεψήφισεν; εἰ φρονῶν, 'in his sound senses'; 15 § 16; 19 §§ 16, 117, 241, 262, 269; 20 § 75; Isaëus 2 § 14 ὑγιαίνων, εἰ φρονῶν, εἰ τοῦν. Its opposite is κακῶς φρονεῖν (1 § 23).

130. τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, added to explain ἐξ ἀρχῆς. In the *De Corona* (18 §§ 25 f.) Dem. states that, when Philip invaded Thrace, the Peace had been sworn on the part of the Athenians only, but not on that of Philip. Here he represents the Peace as having been actually sworn by Philip also, εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὁμωμόκει (136). The present statement, as is proved by the later statement by Dem. himself, is undoubtedly false.

131. στρατηγούντος: Imperf. (Goodwin *MT.* § 139). τῶν ὄντων ἐν X. νῦν = τῶν νῦν ἐν X. ὄντων. In the latter order ὄντων would have been preceded by a *hiatus* and have been awkwardly followed by another Participle. ἀπεσταλμένων (Plupf.) refers to the colonists sent to the Chersonesus under the leadership of Diopitheas. (132) νῦν is added to show that, while the principal verbs are Imperf., ὄντων is Present. Cp. Thuc. i 12 § 3 τὴν νῦν Βουωτίαν καλούμενην ψήκσαν (Goodwin *MT.* § 141).

Σέρριον καὶ Δορίσκον: 8 § 64. ἐλάβανεν, 'proceeded to take'; 'set about taking'; similarly (134) ἐξέβαλλεν. These are not 'tentative' but 'descriptive' or 'narrative' Imperfects, as in 23 § 114 κατελάμβανε τὰς πόλεις, ἡδίκηαι and τὴν χώραν ἐποιεῖθ' αὐτοῦ (Goodwin *MT.* § 35).

133. τοὺς ἐκ Σ. τ. = τοὺς ἐν Σ. τ. ἐξ αὐτοῦ . . . ἐξέβαλλεν. Cp. 1 § 15 τὸν ἐκεῖθεν πόλεμον. Σαρρείου τείχους: apparently distinguished from Σέρριον by Harpocr., who uses the Pl. in calling them ὀνόματα χωρίων. The same view is held by Weil on [7] § 27. Blass sees no reason for the promontory of Σέρριον being here mentioned just before the fort erected on it; he accordingly regards Σέρριον καὶ as interpolated from [10] § 8 and 18 § 70. But Philip may well have begun by cutting off all retreat from the promontory and, after thus 'taking Σέρριον,' he may have next proceeded to dislodge the troops in the fort itself.

Ἰερού ὄρους: mentioned as a Thracian stronghold in 19 §§ 156, 334; 23 § 104; and Aeschin. 2 § 90. The Schol. on this last passage describes it as in the territory of the Apsinthii. As Aenos, which lay in that region (Strabo 7 fragm. 58), was S of the mouth of the Hebrus, Ἰερόν ὄρος was probably between the Hebrus and the Thracian coast, rather to the N of the Chersonesus (ASchaefer ii 247²). But Strabo (7 fragm. 56)

mentions it after Pactye etc. and before Perinthus (on the Propontia); hence in Kiepert's Atlas it is marked as extending to the NE along the coast of the Propontis, due NE of the Chersonesus.

Aeschines (2 § 82) states that Philip, on receiving the First Embassy, had promised that, during the negotiations on the Peace, he would not invade Chersonesus. If this is true, Philip did not break the letter of that promise by his capture of any of these places before returning to meet the *Second* Embassy, as all of them are outside the Chersonesus. It also appears from Aeschines (2 § 90) that the date of the dispatch of Chares announcing Philip's capture of 'Ιερὸν ὄρος was April 20, 346 B.C., and that the Peace was sworn on the part of Athens and her allies on the *following* day, April 21. (135) στρατηγός: Chares.

§ 16 l. 135. ταῦτα πράττων τί ἐπολεῖ; 'in pursuing this policy, what was he practically doing?' This rendering may serve to distinguish πράττων and ἐπολεῖ, but the distinction sometimes noticed seems to vanish here (see note on 4 § 5). Cp. Plato *Crito* 51 A καὶ φήσει. ταῦτα πᾶν δίκαια πράττειν; πράττων, Imperf., cp. (131) στρατηγοῦντος.

136. εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὁμωμόκει: here the preceding question implies the answer τὰ τοῦ πολέμου (or ταῦτα) πράττων εἰρήνην ἔλπει. This suppressed answer is implied by γὰρ; 'why! it was *peace* he had sworn,' but he was *breaking* the peace by doing acts of war. The latter clause, which is implied, though not expressed, shows the full force of μὲν.

Dem. should have said simply, 'we had sworn the Peace, and Philip knew it; Philip ought therefore to have suspended his military operations, although he had not yet taken the oath himself.' Elsewhere he states the facts with perfect precision (19 §§ 155 f.; 18 §§ 25 f.). Here he adds that, in strict morality, every infraction of a pledge, whatever its degree, ought to be severely condemned. It is to be regretted that Dem. has not applied this excellent principle to the orator's duty of speaking the truth (Weil). The contradiction is so glaring that it has even been proposed to read εἰρήνη μὲν γὰρ ὁμωμόκει, i.e. on the part of the Athenians (so Blass). Cp. Holm *Greek History* iii c. 15 note 2. (The point was first noticed by Winiewski *Comm.* 126 *hyperbolice magis dicta quam ad veritatem*, quoted by Spengel *Δημηγ.* 56, who himself calls it *eine wissenschaftliche Lüge*).

137. μὴδὲς εἶρη: Aeschines (3 § 82) afterwards insinuated that Dem. was the first to discover the existence of these unim-

portant places. §4 introduces an objection as in 6 § 70.
 τί ταύτ' ἐστίν : § 39.

138. εἰ . . ἤ, 'whether . . or (whether).' The sense of these two questions is combined in οὗτος, attracted for ταῦτα into agreement with λόγος (cp. § 9). 'That is another question'; 18 § 44 εἰ δ' ἡσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, 20 § 116 ἑτέρον τι τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη, 38 § 8 and [13] § 7 ἄλλος ἂν ἦν λόγος, Plato *Apol.* 34 E εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἔχω ἢ μὴ ἄλλος λόγος, *Phaedrus* 106 C ἄλλου ἂν δέαι λόγου. A similar formula is found as early as Herodotus (ix 58 τούτῳ ἐτέρωθι ἐστὶ λόγος) and as late as Rudyard Kipling:—'But that is another story.'

140. τὸ εὐσεβές, 'religion.' τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν : Antiphon 5 § 92 τὴν ἴσην γε δύναμιν ἔχει, ὅστις τ' ἂν τῇ χειρὶ ἀποκτείνῃ ἀδίκως ἢ ὅστις τῇ ψήφῳ, and (for the general sense) Thuc. i 141 § 1 τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν δοῦλων ἢ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστη δικαίως. ἐπὶ c. Gen. (32). μικροῦ followed by Comparative μείζους, as in 21 § 14 καὶ μικρὰ καὶ μείζω.

142. φέρε δὴ : see note on 4 § 10 εἰπέ μοι. νῦν introduces the application of the preceding γνώμη to the case of the *Chersonesus* which is more important than that of the forts in Thrace.

εἰς Χερρόνησον—ξένους εἰσπέμψαι κτλ. *Cardia* is really meant, as it was to that town that Philip sent succours; but the wider term '*Chersonesus*' is employed, because it is only thus that Dem. can appeal to a general agreement as to its belonging to Athens. Had Philip, in agreeing to the Peace, admitted that *Cardia* belonged to Athens, the orator would not have appealed to the general agreement as to the *Chersonesus*, but would have said that Philip had sent succours to the towns of the *Chersonesus*, although he had sworn in the Peace that they belonged to Athens. The Athenian claim to *Cardia* was contested by the *Cardians* themselves. The admission of 'all the Greeks' that the *Chersonesus* belonged to Athens is probably only an inference from their not raising any claims of their own (*ASPengel Beitrag* 276).

143. βασιλεὺς, without Article, 'the king' of the Persians (§§ 43, 47).

144. ὑμετέραν : similarly, of the territory of *Amphipolis*, in [7] § 29 τὴν χώραν, ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὠμολογήκασιν ὑμετέραν εἶναι. The Persian king had recognised the right of Athens to *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, and *Scyros*, in the Peace of *Antalcidas*, 387 B.C.; but nothing is known of any similar formal recognition of her right to the *Chersonesus*, which, like *Lemnos* (and probably *Imbros*), had

come into her possession through Miltiades. It has been suggested that the Athenians may have insisted on their right to Amphipolis and the Chersonesus being recognised by 'all the Greeks' at the Congress of Sparta in 371, a few weeks after the battle of Leuctra (ASchaefer i 74² n.).

ξένους εἰσπέντα, the mercenaries sent by Philip to the help of Cardia.

145. ὁμολογεῖ (8 § 64 of the same event). καὶ ἐπιστάλλει ταῦτα, 'and sends a letter to that effect.' The letter is mentioned in 8 § 16 (ASchaefer ii 453² note 2). (146) φησὶ, says, in contrast with what he actually does: followed by εὖ (Goodwin *MT*. § 685).

§ 17 l. 148. Μεγάρον: in 343 B.C. Philip's partisans attempted to betray Megara into the hands of Philip (§ 27; 18 § 71 Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν, 19 §§ 87, 294 f., 326, 335), but were thwarted, apparently by the Athenians under Phocion (Plut. *Phocion* 16; Grote c. 90 (viii 180 f.); ASchaefer ii 365²). ἀπτόμενον, 'tampering with,' 18 § 79 Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο.

149. κὰν Εὐβοίᾳ: see § 58 and 8 § 36, where the narrative mentions more than one τύραννος, and thus supports the Pl. τυραννίδας.

150. ἐπὶ (8 §§ 14, 16, 17, 18, 59) Θράκην παριόντα, (his advance) 'against Thrace,' 342 B.C.; 8 § 66 ἐπὶ Βυζαντίον παριόντος (of the same campaign). ἐπὶ Θράκης, 'towards Thrace,' has been proposed by WChrist; cp. 18 § 87 παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους ἤξειν κτλ. τὰν Πελοποννήσῃ: § 27 (Elis); also 6 § 15; 8 §§ 20-25 (where Dem. warns the Messenians against Philip).

151. σκευευρούμενον, of underhand machinations, 32 §§ 9, 11; 45 § 47. πράττει . . . ποιοῦντα (135). διὰ, 'by means of,' implying the agency of others, would be more accurate than μετὰ (Mss), which implies that Philip was present in person with his forces, and is not true in the case of Megara and Euboea.

152. λέων φημι τὴν εἰρήνην κτλ.: similarly after an enumeration of Philip's aggressions, in 18 § 71, the apodosis runs:—πότερον ταῦτα ποίῳν ἤδικοι καὶ παρσπόνδοι καὶ ἔλινε τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢ οὐ;

153. εἰ μὴ, 'unless, indeed': an afterthought (like nisi forte), as in 18 § 51 εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεμιστὰς . . . φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. τὰ μηχανήματ(α), 'batteries,' armed with καταπάλται and λιθοβόλοι, for shooting arrows and stones respectively. Cp. § 50 and 18 § 87 χάρακα βαλόμενος

πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει.
154. ἔως ἂν (90).

156. οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθεῖην (ei éssaimi): followed by οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ. Here ἐγὼ and ἐμοὶ refer not to Demosthenes himself, but to any chance person, e.g. the speaker; or, to put it in another way, they refer to Dem. as typical of anybody (so Dr. Postgate, in *Cl. Rev.* xi 21).

Prof. Platt (*Cl. Rev.* x 381) draws attention to this rare Greek use, corresponding to our common English use of 'I' for 'anybody you like.' Something similar is quoted by W. Wyse (ib.) from [Xen.] *De Rep. Ath.* i, 11 τὸν ἐμὸν δοῦλον . . . ὁ ἐμὸς δοῦλος . . . ἂν δὲ δοῦν ὁ οὗτος δοῦλος ἐμῷ, though there 'the pronoun could not be omitted without destroying the sense,' whereas in the text the pronoun is not necessary, but conduces to clear and vivid presentation of the personal illustration. It has been noticed that it 'does not mark contrast between myself and some one else, but exactly the opposite; it insists on the similarity of myself and other people.' The presence of the pronoun is here due to the contrast between the aggressor (ἐγὼ . . . and οὗτος) and his victim ('myself,' suppose. This use of the pronoun also occurs in 8 § 72 and 23 § 55 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὰς τῶν ἑταίρων αἰσθεὶς εἶμαι διέφθικα, οὐ δύνῃ ὑπάρχειν ἀλλὰ συγγενεῖσι τοῦ ἐμοῦ εἶμαι (*Cl. Rev.* xi 189, 234). So six times in Shakespeare's *Othello* iii 3, 157 'Who steals my purse, steals trash . . . 'T was mine, 'tis his . . . But he that filches from me my good name Robs me of that which not enriches him, And makes me poor indeed.'

158. κἂν μῆπω βάλλῃ μὴδὲ τοξεύῃ, 'even before he discharges a single missile, or shoots a single arrow.' This became a current example of the rhythmical type of clause favoured by the Asiatic school and its Roman adherents; Quint. ix 4 § 63 *illa (compositio Demosthenis) quae ab uno quod sciam Bruto minus probatur, ceteris placet, κἂν—τοξεύῃ*. In the *First Philippic* the number of clauses ending with the double spondee is 59, with the double trochee 48, and with the cretic followed by a trochee or a spondee (corresponding to μὴδὲ τοξεύῃ) 34 (Norden *die antike Kunstprosa* 914). It has been observed by Dionysius (v 48 R) that μὴδὲ τοξεύῃ is immaterial to the sense, but serves to give expansion to the sentence.

§ 18 l. 158. τίσιν—κινδυνεύουσιν ἂν; 'whereby (in consequence of what facts) would you be imperilled?' τίσιν; Neut. Pl. as in 19 § 300 and 18 § 278. The Dat. is causal, as in 8 § 3 τοῖς θορύβοις—ἀποδρᾶναι, and 8 § 11 οὐδενὶ . . . πλείον κεκράτηκε . . . ἢ τῷ . . . γίγνεσθαι. All the causes in question are events which have already happened. It is not the Dat. of the thing risked, or the point in which the risk resides, as in Thuc. ii 65 § 7 τῇ πόλει κ., vi 9 § 3 τοῖς ἐτοίμοις κ. (as implied in Rehdantz' *Index*).

159. εἴ τι γένοιτο; 'if anything should happen,' i.e. if war should openly break out; or 'if you should meet with any

reverse': a euphemism like *ἀν συμβῆ τι* in 2 § 15, and *μή τι πάθωσι* (173 f.).

τῇ—ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, 'the alienation of the H.' 18 § 88 *τίς ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλ. ἀλλοτριωθῆναι*; cp. Aeschin. 2 § 9.

160. *Μεγάρων . . Εὐβοίας*: 19 § 334 *τίς πεποίηκεν Εὐβοίαν ἀλλοτρίαν, τίς Μέγαρον πρῶην ὀλίγου*;

162. *φρονήσαι*, 'ingressive' Aor. (Goodwin *MT.* § 55). For *φρονεῖν* c. Acc., of political sentiments, cp. § 56 and 5 § 18; also 14 § 34.

163. *τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμ(α)*: a metaphor suggested by l. 153.

164. *ἐγὼ φῶ*: Interrogative Subj. (Goodwin *MT.* § 287) after *εἴτα*, as in 20 § 60 *εἴτα . . ἐάσωμεν*; *πρὸς ὑμᾶς*: constr. with *ἄγειν*.

§ 19 l. 165. *πολλοὺ γὰρ καὶ δεῖ*: 5 § 24. *ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας* (= *ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας ᾗ*): i.e. 17 July 346 B.C. (19 § 59), scarcely three weeks after he had sworn to the peace. *ἀνεῖλε Φωκίας*: 8 § 65. *ταύτης*: resumptive use of antecedent; 6 § 17. (167) *ὀρίζομαι* (71).

168. *τοῦ(το) = τὸ ἀμύνασθαι*. (169) *δυνήσεσθαι* is required by *σωφρονήσιν* dependent on *φημί*. (172) *ὅσα (περὶ) Β.* (15).

§ 20 l. 173. *τούτοις*: the inhabitants of Chersonesus and Byzantium. *διατηρῆσαι μὴ τι πάθωσι*: 18 § 161 *ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γενήσεται παρατηρῶν*. This clause is added because Philip had not actually marched against the Chersonesus or Byzantium, though he was moving in that direction.

174. *καὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐκεῖ νῦν στρατιώταις—ἀποστέλλαι*: omitted in S and L, and regarded by Voemel as interrupting the sense, which, in his view, is:—*non tam de Chersoneso ac Byzantio agitur, quam de omnium Graecorum salute*. But the sense really is that, while the other speakers have treated it as a question for debate whether succours should be sent to the Chersonesus and Byzantium or not, Dem. insists that there ought to be no question about it. *οὐδὲ* (171) practically emphasises *σκοπεῖν*. That is already ripe for action. The only question left for deliberation is the interests of the Greeks in general. The clause is defended by Benseler (*Hist. Dem.* p. 27), and by Spengel, but is held to be an interpolation from § 93 (601 f.) by Dräseke (pp. 124 f.), who notices that the MSS vary considerably, several having *ἐκεῖ νῦν οὖσι*, and many *στρατηγούς*.

177. *βοῦλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν*: cp. 6 § 6. 178. *ἐξ ὧν (λογισμῶν)*. *ἢ' εἰ μὲν κτλ.*, stronger than the parallel in 6 § 6.

182. *ληρεῖν*: 3 § 29; 5 § 10; 8 § 31. *τετυφῶσθαι*, 'to be senseless' or 'silly'; 23 § 184; 24 § 158; 21 § 116 *τετυφώσθε*, 23 § 187 *τετυφωμένοι*, 18 § 11 *οὕχ οὕτως τετυφώμαι* (*ἐμβεβρότημαι*, *ἔξω τῶν φρενῶν γέγονα*, from *τυφῶν* or *τυφός*).

Harpocr.); now generally derived from *τῦφος* (1) 'smoke,' (2) 'vanity,' 'conceit.'

183. ὑγιαίνουντι, 'in my sound senses'; 8 § 36; Plato *Lysis* 205 A οὐχ ὑγιαίνει, ἀλλὰ ληρεῖ τε καὶ μαινεται.

§ 21 l. 185. μέγας . . ἡξήηται: 2 § 5. ἐκ μικροῦ: 8 § 66 and 3 § 29 ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι. τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς: 1 § 12 ἀσθενῆς ὡν τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, also 2 § 6; 19 § 303; and *Ep.* 3 § 2; elsewhere without Article.

τοῦ κατ' ἀρχάς (making the clause mean ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἀρχάς μικροῦ ὄντος, contrasted with ἐξ ἐκείνου) appears to have been read by Aristoides ii 180 οὕτως ἀνθρώπος ἦρθε μέγας ἐξ ἀσθενούς καὶ σαφροῦ τοῦ κατ' ἀρχάς.

186. ἀπίστως . . πρὸς: 20 § 22 τοὺς πάντας ἀπίστως πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαθῶμεν; Isocr. 4 § 173 πιστότερον διακείσμεθα πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. 187. αὐτοὺς = ἀλλήλους, 4 § 10. This

clause explains the immediately preceding and succeeding clauses, which are separated by it, although closely connected with one another in sense.

189. γενέσθαι refers to the same time as ἦν, and ποιήσασθαι to the same time as νῦν (ἐστὶ). Goodwin *MT.* § 96. ἢ νῦν (παρόξενον ἐστὶ) . . καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ (αὐτὸν) ὅψ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι. The ease of Philip's later progress is noticed by Isocr. 5 § 115 and *Ep.* 3 § 5 (both addressed to Philip).

190. ποιήσασθαι: the vague and general Aor. is here less ill-omened than the definite Future.

191. καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτα—παρδείψω: 25 § 19 καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐδῶν· ἄλλ' ὅτι . .

§ 22 l. 192. ἄλλ' ὁρῶ: corresponds to ὅτι μὲν (185). Cp. 2 § 3; 21 § 15.

193. ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, 'beginning with you'; 18 § 297 ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ σοῦ.

194. τὸν ἄλλον . . χρόνον: of *past* time (98).

195. τὸ ποιεῖν, 'the fact that he *does*'; 'the right of *doing*.' καθ' ἑν(α) (=ἐκαστον) τῶν Ἑλλήνων: 2 § 24 ἑκαστῷ is added in some MSS, cp. l. 311.

197. περικόπτειν: 8 § 9; 21 § 147; 24 § 121. (1) 'to mutilate' (esp. a statue), (2) as here, 'to plunder.' λωποδυνεῖν (4 § 47), 'to rob.' Livy ii 55, *circumscindere et spoliare*. The phrase in the text is still stronger than that in 8 § 55 τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν οὕτως ἐφελκυσσεν ἀρπάξων.

198. ἐπιόντα, 'by attacking (them)'; 18 § 244 τοῖς δούλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο.

§ 23 l. 199. *προστάται* (= *ἡγεμόνες*), here used of the supremacy of Athens and Sparta, implies that their position was to a certain extent legitimate. Of Thebes Dem. only says *ἰσχυσαν* (201).

· *ἔβδομήκοντ(α) ἔτη καὶ τρία*: for the order cp. 27 § 35 *ἔβδομήκοντα μὲν καὶ ἑπτὰ*. The period of 73 years here extends from 476 to 404 B.C. (both inclusive). Elsewhere we have in round numbers 70 years, as in Lys. 2 § 55, Isocr. 4 § 106 and below in § 25; as many as 90 years in Lycurgus § 72 and as few as 65 in Isocr. 12 § 56, and 45 in Dem. 3 § 24 (excluding the Peloponnesian war). Here the larger number is put first; below (224), where stress is laid on the *short* duration of Philip's power, the smaller number precedes:—*ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα*, as in Isocr. 15 § 109 *τρία καὶ δέκα μόνον ἔταρτα*.

200. *τριάκοντ' ἐνδὲς δέοντα*: 404–376 B.C., when Clabrias defeated Sparta at Naxos.

201. *ἰσχυσαν*, 'became powerful'; Aor. as in l. 211.
τ, cp. 6 § 27 *μείζον ἰσχύει*, Plato *Crito* 50 B *μηδὲν ἰσχ.*

202. *χρόνους*, from 371 B.C. (battle of Leuctra) to 362 (death of Epameinondas).

206. *ποιεῖν* denotes a habit, and is followed by the opt. *ἔτι βούλουσθε*, due to *συνεχωρήθη* (see Goodwin *MT*. §§ 187, 532). The 2nd Person is used because the Athenians who are present are addressed, instead of general reference being made in the 3rd Person to Athens, Sparta and Thebes alike.
οὐδὲ πολλοὺ δα: 8 § 42.

§ 24 l. 207. *τοῦτο μὲν* followed by *καὶ πάλιν* (211). Cp. 5 §§ 5 f. *πρώτων μὲν . . πάλιν τοῖνυν*. *ὑμῖν* is corrected by the addition of the words *μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις*. Elsewhere the continuity of the Athenian people is recognised as in 4 § 3, where the Athenians of the present get the benefit of a compliment due to the Athenians of the past. Here there is no occasion for making the audience partners in the unpopularity of their ancestors; hence the correction. It is sometimes represented as a *captatio benevolentiae*, and even as a note of regret that the Athenians were no longer powerful enough to excite the jealousy of the Greeks.

208. *τίσιν*: construed with *προσφίσεσθαι*. *οὐ μετρίως*: 18 § 18; 'inconsiderately,' 'haughtily,' 'in an overweening manner'; *πέρα τοῦ μετρίου* (213).

211. *ἄρξασιν*, 'became masters'; Aor. as in l. 201.

212. *εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν* . . *ὑμῖν*: Isaeus 2 § 25 *εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τύχην κείνῳ καταστάς*. *ὑπερστέλειν*, 'supremacy'; primarily of

personal or oligarchical rule, contrasted with *ισονομία* in Thuc. iii 62, iv 78; applied to Philip 18 § 167; to Athens in Pl. 18 § 322.

213. *πλεονάζειν*, 'to encroach'; of aggressive conduct, in 39 § 14; here referring to acts such as the Spartan capture of the Cadmeia (333 B.C.) and their attempt on the Peiræus.

214. *ἐκίχον*: Isocr. 16 § 5 οὐδὲν κινεῖν τῶν καθεστῶτων. Thuc. iii 37 § 3 νόμοις ἀκυήτους. Sparta established oligarchies wherever she could.

215. *καὶ οἱ μὲν <ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες> ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοὶ* (for αὐτοῖς) is proposed by Wachendorf *Rhein. Mus.* 1871 p. 411, *etiam ipse nullas habebant, quas deferrent, iniurias* (210), cp. Cic. *de imp. Cn. Pomp.* § 14 *propter socios nulla ipse iniuria lacerasti, maiores vestri bella gesserunt*.

§ 25 l. 216. *καὶ τί δέ;* a formula of transition as in § 59; 23 § 114; 57 § 61. τοὺς ἄλλους: either the others who resisted an oppressive supremacy (so Weil); or the others who abused their power, viz. the Thebans, whose former differences with Athens are here dexterously passed over, because Dem. was now making great efforts to unite Athens and Thebes against Philip; §§ 27, 34 (so Rehdantz).

217. οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες: 3 § 27 πᾶλλ' ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν. Goodwin *M.T.* § 214. *ἔξ ἀρχῆς*, in the Peloponnesian war.

219. *ὑπὲρ ὧν = τούτων ᾧ*, Acc. after *ἀδικουμένους*. (220) *ῥημέθα*: see 3 § 7.

221. *τριάκοντ(α)* . . (223) *ἑβδομήκοντα*: round numbers for 29 and 73 (§ 23).

224. *τριῶν καὶ δέκα(α)*: it is now the summer of 341 B.C., and Philip's interference in the affairs of Greece may be said to have begun when, after capturing Methone in the first half of 353, he took part in the Sacred war. This interval would be less than 13 years, probably a little more than 12.

οὐχ ὅλως: Diodor. xix 20 *ἐν ἡμέραις οὐχ ὅλως τεσσαράκοντα τρισί*. (οὐδ' ὅλως is proposed by Hertlein, cp. Plut. *Timol.* 37.)

225. *οἷς = ἐν οἷς*. *ἐπιπολάζει*, 'has emerged from his obscurity', 'has come to the surface.' Isocr. 5 § 64 *τὰς μὲν ἀτιμωθήσεσθαι, τὰς δ' ἐπιπολάσειν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων*, and ib. 8 § 107 (of the Athenians, after the time of the Spartan supremacy) *πάλιν ἐπιπολάσαι καὶ κυρίους γενέσθαι τῆς ἐκείνων* (sc. τῶν Ἑλλήνων) *σωτηρίας*. "φανταίς"

226. οὐδὲ μέρος, 'scarcely a fraction'; Isocr. 12 § 54 οὐδὲν ἂν μέρος εἰρηγῆναι τῶν ἐκείνοις ἡμαρτημένων, ib. § 16 and 5 § 43 οὐδὲν μέρος, ib. 2 § 11 οὐδ' ἐν μέρος. These passages point to

οὐδὲν μέρος (preferred to οὐδὲ μ. by EMüller, who however prints the 'vulgar' reading, οὐδὲ πολλοστών μ.).

227. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ βραχέος λόγον ῥάδιον δεῖξαι: retained by Spengel, but rejected by Dräkeke (p. 121).

§ 26 l. 227. Ὀλυνθον: taken 348 B.C. Introd. to *First Phil. and Olynthiacs* p. lxxviii. (228) Μεθώνη: W of the Gulf of Therma; 353 B.C. (ib. p. xlii). There is no sufficient reason for supposing that there was a town of the same name in Chalcidice (ASchaefer ii 30, 71, note 4). Ἀπολλωνίαν: an Ionian colony in Mygdonia, N of Chalcidice, but not belonging to the Olynthian league. The date of its destruction is unknown; it may have been 349 or earlier (ASchaefer ii 141²).

(229) πόλεις: the 32 cities of the Olynthian league, Stageira etc. (a list is suggested in Böhnecke's *Forschungen* i 155 f.; cp. ASchaefer ii 164² n.). ἐπὶ Θράκης (§ 64), here applied to Chalcidice.

230. ὥστε—εἰπεῖν: constr. ὥστε μὴδὲ ῥάδιον εἶναι προσελθόντα (τινὰ) εἰπεῖν, εἰ πάποτε' ᾤκηθησαν. Cp. Appian *Bell. Civ.* iv 102 Φίλιππος . . τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ Χαλκιδέας ἀνέστησεν, ὥς μὴδὲν ἐτι πλην οἰκόμεθα μόνον ἱερῶν ὁρᾶσθαι (ASchaefer l.c.).

232. Φωκίων κτλ.: 346 B.C.; 19 §§ 64, 65 (ASchaefer ii 285² n.). τοσοῦτον, 22 towns (19 § 123). σιωπῶ.

This παράλειψις is noticed by the rhetorician Hermogenes (iii 335) and Demetrius (ix 109). The facts of which the orator 'says nothing' were later than those which he is on the point of mentioning, and they had often been stated in his public speeches. τοσοῦτον: emphatic; sc. δν.

233. ἀλλά: contrasted with μὲν (228). τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις, 'her constitutions and her cities'; i.e. he has not only changed her constitutions by introducing 'tetrarchies,' but has also robbed the several cities of their independence, e.g. by placing garrisons in them, as at Pherae, [7] § 32 Φεραίων μὲν ἀφῆρηται τὴν πόλιν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει κατέστησεν, 19 § 260. The two words are combined in Aeschin. 3 § 85 τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπέδοτε (to the Euboeans). καὶ τὰς πόλεις (234) is, however, regarded by Weil as destroying the balance of the sentence, and as best taken alone as the direct Acc. after παρήρηται, leaving τὰς πολιτείας, in an emphatic position, as a second Acc. after the same verb: 'has he not deprived even their cities of their constitutions,' the double Acc. being like that common after ἀφαιρῶσθαι. But the verb has only one Acc. after it in 6 § 22 and in 19 § 260 (of the same events) τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παραιρεῖται; also in 19 §§ 29, 81. 234. αὐτῶν: τῶν Θετταλῶν, cp. § 20.

тетраρχίας: τεττάρων μερῶν ὄντων τῆς Θετταλίας ἕκαστον μέρος τετράς ἐκαλεῖτο, καθά φησιν Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τοῖς Θετταλικοῖς· ὄνομα (ὀνόματα!) δὲ φησιν εἶναι ταῖς τετράσι Θετταλιῶτιν, Φθιώτιν, Πελασγιῶτιν, Ἑσταιγιῶτιν. καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ Θετταλῶν πολιτείᾳ ἐπὶ Ἀλεῦα τοῦ Πύρρου διηρῆσθαι φησιν εἰς δ' μοῖρας τὴν Θετταλίαν. εἴη ἂν οὖν <ταύτην> λέγων ὁ Δημοσθένης τὴν τετταρχίαν. ὅτι δὲ Φίλιππος καθ' ἑκάστην τοῦτων τῶν μοιρῶν ἀρχοντα κατέστησε δεδηλώκασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ μδ' (Harpocr. s.v.). ASchaefer ii 430². Cp. note on 6 § 22 δεκαδαρχίαν.

235. κατέστησεν refers to a single act, παρήρηται (234) to a permanent result. (236) ἔθνη: the tribes, or provinces, mentioned in Harpocr. l.c.

§ 27 l. 236. ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις: Eretria and Oreos, §§ 57 f.

(238) Θηβῶν καὶ Ἀθηνῶν, mentioned together as states which Dem. would gladly see united against Philip. Both had struggled for the possession of Euboea (8 § 74), and neither desired to see it fall into the hands of Philip.

διαρρήδην εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς γράφει "ἐμοὶ 8(4)": 19 § 40 εἰς τὴν προτέραν γράφας ἐπιστολὴν . . ., "ἐγγραφον δ' ἂν καὶ διαρρήδην . . .," where δέ (as here) is part of the quotation. 239 f. Both ἐμοὶ and ἐμοῦ are emphatic and self-assertive.

240. καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ: the first οὐ negatives both clauses, as in § 57; 6 § 12; [53] § 9; 18 § 13 and esp. § 179 οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ κτλ. followed as here by ἀλλά.

241. ἐφ' Ἑλλάσποντον: Philip had started for Thrace in May, 342 B.C., and was περὶ Ἑλλάσποντον (8 § 3) in March, 341.

243. Ἀμβρακίαν, the modern *Arta*, seven miles N of the Ambracian Gulf; threatened by Philip soon after the winter of 343-2 (§§ 34, 72; [7] § 32; ASchaefer ii 427²). His object was to command the Ionian Sea and one of the approaches to the Peloponnesus. Ἦλιν ἔχει: not later than the summer

of 343. Philip's partisans, the oligarchs, at Elis (18 § 295; 19 § 294) had massacred the democrats (19 § 260; Paus. v 4, 9). ASchaefer ii 363².

244. Μεγάροις: § 17.

245. οὐδ' ἢ Ἑλλὰς οὐδ' ἢ βάρβαρος (so. γῆ): Xen. *Anab.* v 5, 16 ἂν τε εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν ἂν τε εἰς Ἑλληνίδα.

246. χωρεῖ: is large enough to 'contain' his ambition. 21 § 200 ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν οὐ χωρεῖ; Plut. *Alex.* 6 ὡ παῖ . . . ζήτει σταντῷ βασιλείᾳ ἰσθν'. Μακεδονία γὰρ σε οὐ χωρεῖ (op. Juv. x 169); *Virg. Aen.* ix 644 nec te Troia capit; Cic. *Mil.* 81 capere eūa

amentiam civitas, Italia, provinciae, regna non poterant.

τὰνθρώπων: 4 § 9; 8 § 35.

§ 28 l. 248. ἀγανακτοῦμεν, 'complain,' 'protest,' 'express indignation.'

249. διορύττεσθαι κατὰ πόλεις. The verb is used in the Active *literally* in 6 § 30 ('cut a canal or trench through'), 25 § 56 (of a prison), and 54 § 37 τοίχους διορύττοντες, and *metaphorically* in 45 § 30 κακουργῆσαι καὶ διορύξαι πράγματα, also in Plut. Phocion 12 προδοτῶν ἅπαντα μεσὰ καὶ νοσοῦντα καὶ διορυγμένα δυροδοκίαις. In the text the metaphor is either from a trench, 'tanquam fossis interiectis et vallis separati' (HWolf), 'so entrenched in our separate towns' (K), 'trenched apart city by city' (Tarbell); or from a mine, 'confossi, perforati sumus, h.l. corrupti, pessumdati' (Reiske), 'oppidatim tanquam cuniculis suffosi' (Voemel), 'cut off by mines' (Abbott and Matheson). I prefer the former as better denoting the separation and isolation of the Greek states, denounced elsewhere. Thus the Greeks are described in § 21 as in a state of mistrust and faction (στασιαστικῶς ἔχοντες) towards one another, and in 18 § 61 as parted from one another by Philip, κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἐν χεῖρον διέθηκε . . . καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ, where κακῶς διέθηκε corresponds to κακῶς διακέμεθα here. If 'undermined' had been the meaning, one would have expected the Passive of either ὑπορύττω or ὑπονομεύω, though their *metaphorical* use is late. This meaning seems however to be supported by Plut. l.c. The text is vaguely explained in § by κατεσκάμεθα, λεληστέμεθα (cp. Schol. in *Rhet. Gr.* ix 995 ἐπὶ κλεπτῶν γὰρ λέγει).

252. συνστῆναι, 'combine'; impossible because Philip τοὺς Ἕλληνας . . . διέστησεν (18 § 61).

§ 29 l. 254. γιγνώμενον . . . περιωρᾶμεν: Goodwin *MT*. § 885. τὸν χρόνον κερδᾶναι, 'to profit by (enjoy the interval of) time'; *Lys.* 13 § 84 τὸν χρόνον κερδαίνει ὃν ἔζη οὐ προσήκον αὐτῷ, and the Proverb τὴν παρούσαν ἡμέραν κερδαίνει (Apostolius xvi 45). For the context cp. 18 § 45 πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἤξειν κτλ. (256) ἑαυτοὺς in apposition to 1st Person Pl. ὅπως c. Fut. Ind. (§§ 1, 2).

258. περίοδος ἢ καταβολή πυρετοῦ, 'a periodic return, or a sudden attack, of fever.' περιόδικα νοσήματα are explained as intermittent maladies by Harpocr., who describes καταβολή as a periodic attack, which he oddly compares with the application of the term to the payment of a debt by instalments. περίοδος, Hippocr. *Aph.* 1243; Lucian *Philops.* 9 τῶν ἐκ περιόδου πυρετῶν, 'intermittent fevers.' καταβολή, Plato *Hippias* II 372.

ὥσπερ καταβολὴ περιελήλυθεν; *Gorg.* 519 A ἡ κ. αὐτῇ τῇ ἀσθενείας; *Aristot. Mel.* 352 b 15 ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ πάλιν ἡ καταβολὴ τῇς περιόδου τῇς αὐτῆς; *Aristeides* i 520 ἐπεί δὲ ἡ τῇς καταβολῆς ἡμέρα καὶ ὁ πυρετὸς οὐκ ἐπεγένετο. The reference here is not to an 'epidemic' fever as in 19 § 262 ὡς βαδίζον γε κύκλῳ καὶ δεῦρ' ἐλήλυθεν . . τὸ νόσημα τοῦτο.

260. προσέρχεται: of attacks of intermittent pain in *Soph. Phil.* 758, 788. The subject here is Philip.

§ 30 l. 263. ἀλλ' οὖν . . γε, 'at any rate.' γνησίων κτλ., 'genuine sons of Greece.'

264. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον . . ὥσπερ: 1 § 15. ὥσπερ δὲν (20 § 143), sc. ὑπέλαβε, followed by (267) ἄξιον (αὐτὸν εἶναι) and (270) ἐν εἶναι.

268. κατηγορίας: among those who were not allowed to speak in public was any one ἡ τὰ πατρῷα κατεσθροκῶς ἢ ὡς ἀν κληρονόμος γένηται (*Aeschin.* 1 § 30). If a spendthrift claimed any such right, he could be prosecuted at his δοκιμασία by means of an εἰσαγγελία δοκιμασίας (*Meier and Schömann* p. 365 *Lipsius*).

269. τούτων refers to the general sense of οὕτω πολλῇ, ταῦτ(α) to the son's misconduct.

§ 31 l. 271. ἀπώλλυ καὶ θυμαίνετο, 'wasted and spoiled'; synonyms combined as in 336. Ἡράκλειος: 19 § 308; 21 § 66; 25 § 51 νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλῆα; 18 § 294 καὶ πάντας θεούς.

272. μᾶλλον belongs to δανὸν (neuter) καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον (both are combined in 19 § 7; 45 § 53).

273. οὐχ: emphatically repeated, as in 21 § 165; 45 § 56. ὡς=τούτων δ. (274) νῦν: emphatic.

275. οὐχ Ἕλληνας: see note on 3 § 16 οὐ βάρβαρος;

276. ἐνταῦθεν εἶναι (εἶναι) καλὸν εἰπεῖν: lit. 'from a land to which it is honourable to say one belongs,' i.e. 'which one may without shame claim as one's country.' *Xen. Hell.* v 1, 17 . . καὶ ταῦτα δθενπερ κάλλιστον; *Anab.* vi 6, 14 εἶθεν ἐομέν; *Aristoph. Eq.* 333 ἀλλ' ὦ τραφεῖς δθενπερ εἰσιν ἄνδρες, ὥστε εἰσι.

277. δλιθρον (18 § 127; 23 § 202) Μακεδόνας: a 'pestilent,' 'mischievous,' 'miserable,' Macedonian. δλεθρος, pernicious, pestis, as early as *Herod.* iii 142 γεγονώς τε κακῶς καὶ εὖν δλεθρος. εἶθεν, as though *Μακεδονίας* had gone before.

278. οἱδ' ἀνδράποδον κτλ.: 21 § 48 τοὺς βαρβάρους παρ' ὧν τὰ ἀνδράποδα εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας κομίζεται. Slaves were generally imported from Thrace, Phrygia, Caria, Cappadocia,

etc.; in stating that the Athenians would not purchase a slave from Macedonia, the orator overreaches himself, as he thus virtually admits that the Macedonians were not slaves. Holm *Gk. Hist.* iii c. 14 n. 4.

§ 32 l. 281. πόλεις: Olynthus and the towns of Chalcidice, and esp. those of Phocis. τίθησι . . . τὰ Πύθια: 5 § 22.

282. Ἑλλήνων: emphatic.

283. τοὺς δοῦλους: Philip, having presided in person at the Pythian Festival of Sept. 346, was represented by a deputy in 342, when he was occupied with the war in Thrace. His deputy was perhaps Parmenion or Antipater (ASchaefer ii 443² n.). The Athenians regarded all in an absolute monarchy as slaves with the sole exception of the monarch, τὰ βαρβάρων γὰρ δοῦλα πάντα πλὴν ἐνός (Eur. *Hel.* 276).

284-8. κύριος—μέγιστος: omitted by S¹ L¹ and regarded by Dräseke (pp. 128 f.) as an interpolation from 19 § 327; defended by LSpengel the father but rejected by ASpengel the son, who would also reject (289-92) γράφει—καταστήσοντας (Beltrac p. 318).

Πυλόν: the importance of Thermopylae is emphasised by the addition καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας παρόδων (5 § 20).

286. κατέχευε: followed by another incident not closely connected with the last, but introduced by ἔχευε.

προμαντεύειν τοῦ θεοῦ, 'pre-audience of the oracle'; 19 § 327 ἢ πόλις δὲ τὴν προμαντεύειν ἀφήρηται. The order of audience was usually determined by lot (Aesch. *Eum.* 31); but the text implies that the representatives of the Amphictyonic Council had precedence over others, while their precedence among themselves was probably fixed by custom, though we do not know exactly how. Philip had succeeded to this privilege in place of the Phocians. The right of pre-consultation was specially conferred on certain states (e.g. the Spartans) or persons (e.g. Croesus, the munificent donor of presents to the shrine, Herod. i 54).

§ 33 l. 289. Θετταλοῖς: § 26; 6 § 22.

290. Περσέων: a Euboean port belonging to Eretria (§§ 57 f.).

(291) τὸν δῆμον: the commonalty, the democratical party.

(292) Ἰπέρων: in N of Euboea, formerly known as Hestiaea; long in the possession of Athens; at one time, 2000 of the inhabitants were Athenians: §§ 59 f.

(293) ὄρωντες ἀνέχονται: § 6; Goodwin *MT.* § 379. (294) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ: § 30. χάλασαν, 'hailstorm.'

In similes from the world of nature, Dem. is usually content (as here) with a single touch, as in the simile of the cloud in 18 § 188, the torrent in 18 § 153, and the sea in 19 § 136. The

text is imitated by Sallust *Or. Phil.* 12 *qui videmini intuentes mala quasi fulmen optare se quisque ne attingat, sed prohibere ne conari quidem*. Hailstorms are now rare in Athens, though severe in certain other parts of Greece (Neumann-Partsch *Physikalische Geogr. von Griechenland* 74 f.). Cp. Aristoph. *Nubes* 1127 τὸν κέραμον . . χαλάσαις στρογγύλαις συντρίβωμεν.

295. θεωρεῖν, 'gaze on,' sc. ταῦτα. ἐρχόμενοι: appropriate in the case of natural visitations beyond the reach of man's control. The people of Methana had the custom of 'keeping off hail by sacrifices and spells' (Paus. ii 34, 3); and there were similar superstitions at Cleonae (Seneca *NQ.* iv 6, 2) and elsewhere (Pliny *NH.* 28 § 77). καθ' ἑαυτοὺς—γενέσθαι: 'fall on themselves'; Xen. *Hell.* iv 5, 4 γενέσθαι ὕδωρ καὶ χάλασαν. ἕκαστοι: Pl. of the several peoples of Greece.

§ 34 l. 298. οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται κτλ.: Isocr. 5 § 125 οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν κακῶς ἐπάθωμεν ἀμύνεσθαι τολμῶμεν αὐτοῦς. οὐδεὶς followed by ἕκαστος: 1 § 19. (300) τοῦσχατον: Acc. in 19 § 14; 54 § 12. Without Art. 38 § 24 ἔσχατον γὰρ ἤδη πραγμάτων τοῦτό γε. Κορινθίων (οὔσαν or οὔσας). A large part of the surroundings of the Ambracian Gulf was colonised by the Corinthian tyrant, Cypselus (Strabo 452). ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν: § 27.

301 f. Ἀχαιῶν (οὔσαν) Ναύπακτον, the modern *Lepanto*; originally a Locrian state in Aetolia, N of the Gulf of Corinth, on the opposite coast to Achaia. It was afterwards occupied by the Messenians, and, on their expulsion by the Spartans at the close of the Peloponnesian war, was restored to the Locrians. The Achaeans established themselves there in 367 (Diodorus xv 75), and were now holding it. The neighbouring Aetolians, who had designs on it as early as 391 (Xen. *Hell.* iv 6, 14), ultimately gained possession of it (Strabo 427).

303. Ἐχτινον: found by Thebes on the S coast of Thessaly, looking across the Malian gulf to Locria.

§ 35 l. 304. Βυζαντίους: 8 § 66. συμμάχους ὄντας: sc. αὐτῷ, expressed in 18 § 87 παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ. Some understand *Θηβαίους* (so Voemel and EMüller); the Byzantines aided the Thebans with money in the Sacred War against Phocis (Cauer *Del. Inscr.* no. 352^a; Dittenberger 95); and an alliance may have been formed by the Theban Pammenes in 353, when Byzantium was estranged from Athens. οὐχ ἡμῶν . . ἔχει: Thuc. i 115 § 1 ταῦτα γὰρ εἶχον Ἀθηναῖοι Πελοποννησίων.

305. ἐπὶ τάλλα (e.g. Amphipolis, 8 § 66): more abrupt than

the corresponding phrase in 8 § 52; 19 § 331; 24 § 107 *δε, τί μὲν ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ.*

306. Καρδίας: 5 § 25; 8 §§ 58, 64, 66. The orator assumes that Cardia belongs to Athens, whereas its inhabitants had protested against her claims, and, in the Peace of Philocrates, Philip had not allowed Cardia to be considered part of the Athenian possessions in the Chersonesus. The orator practically makes the same assumption in § 16 where, although the Chersonesus is mentioned, Cardia is really meant.

307. μαλόμεν καὶ μαλακίζομεθα ('we are craven-hearted'): Plato *Alc. I* 124 D οὐκ ἀποκνητέον οὐδὲ μαλακιστέον, Plut. *Public.* 7 μαλακίας καὶ μέλλησιν. Imitated by Sallust *Cat.* 52 *sed inertia et mollitie animi alius alium expectantes cunctantini.*

The ancient variant μαλκόμεν, 'are torpid,' or 'numb' (as it were frost-bitten), recorded by Harpocr. (*ἐν ἐνίοις γράφεται μαλκόμεν*), is accepted by Dobree and others, and supported by Cobet: 'μαλακίζεσθαι dicitur qui de priore studio, acrimonia, vehementia, ardore remittit et quum acrius agere instituisset nunc segnior sit agitque remissius. At non hoc dicit Orator: inertes desiderare clamat cives suos, nihil agere, torpere in maximis Philippi iniuriis. Servavit nobis verbum acre Harpocraton' (*PL* 181²). Rutherford *New Phrynicius* 155.

πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέπομεν: here of mutual mistrust; elsewhere of shirking responsibility, in 14 § 15 ἀπεβλέψαν' εἰς ἀλλήλους, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἕκαστος οὐ ποιήσων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξοντα.

310. ἀσελγῶς, 'brutally.' τί οἰσεθ(ε) followed by τί ποιήσων, where the second τί is grammatically redundant, but rhetorically effective. Cp. 18 § 240 τί ἂν οἰσεθε, εἰ . . . τί ποιῶν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτοῦσι; The repetition secures an emphatic ending, as in 19 § 342 . . . τί οἰσεθε ποιήσων. Cp. end of 1 § 24. καθ' ἑν(α), 'severally.'

(311) ἐκάστων, added here; omitted l. 196.

§ 36 l. 312. ἀνεὺ λόγου κτλ., 'without reason (1 § 6) and just cause,' Isocr. 4 § 10 μετὰ λόγου καὶ μὴ μετὰ βίας, Soph. *Phil.* 730 εἰ οὐδενὸς λόγου. (314) νῦν: ἔχουσι.

315. ἦν τι τότ', ἦν: pathetic repetition: 2 § 10; Cic. *de imp. Cn. Pomp.* 32 *fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium p. R.; Cat.* 1, 3 *fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac republica virtus.*

316. ὁ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν: Sallust *Cat.* 52 *sed alia fuere quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt.*

317 f. ἀνθρώπων, predicate, like ἀφθονωτέροις in 18 § 89 ὁ πλεῖστος . . . ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις διήγεν ὁμᾶς τῆς νῦν εὐρίτης. 318. ἦγε, in this sense, is less usual in prose

than διήγε, Isocr. 3 § 41 τὰς πόλεις ἐν ὁμοιοῖα πειρᾶσθαι διδάγειν. The text, with its personification of the unconquerable principle which 'overcame the wealth of Persia and maintained the freedom of Greece,' rises to a higher level than that of ordinary prose.

318. οὔτε . . μάχης . . ἤττατο, a poetic phrase, parallel to ἐκράττει πλούτου. No battle by sea or land was so severe that this principle was not sufficient to ensure victory. ἤττασθαι with Gen. in 18 § 244 ἡττηθεὶς . . τῶν . . πρὸς βίῃ, and § 273 τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώμενος (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 420).

319. ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λεγόμεναι, 'its loss has ruined all.'

320. ἄνω καὶ κάτω: 2 § 16. τὰ πράγματα: omitted in 19 § 261; 25 § 47.

§ 37 l. 321. οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι: omitted by first hand of S and L. Voennel says: *superfluous flores oratorias e Platonis hortis collectas*, quoting for οὐδὲν ποικίλον *Gorg.* 491 D, *Phaedr.* 53 E. ποικίλος is not found in this sense in Dem., who however has λόγου τιδὲ ἢ ποικιλίας in 29 § 1. Spengel and Dräseke (p. 119) reject the words as impairing the vigour of the passage. They are omitted by Aristides (ix 347, 353 Walz), but apparently imitated by him elsewhere (i 399 Dindorf).

324. χαλεπώτατον, not 'most difficult,' but 'most dreadful,' 'most awkward.'

325. τιμωρία κτλ. Among the penalties were death, disfranchisement and confiscation of property, and payment of ten times the amount of the bribe. The old penalties remained, but had ceased to be enforced.

326. καὶ παρατήσεις οὐδεμί' ἦν οὐδὲ συγγνώμη: added as a fourth clause to a period already consisting of three. It is retained by Spengel. It is not recognised by Aristides, and is rejected by Dräseke (p. 120) as a superfluous addition. παρατήσεις is found only here in Dem.

§ 38 l. 327. τὸν . . καιρὸν—τῶν πραγμάτων, 'the critical moment for action in each instance.' Cp. 3 § 7; 4 § 33; and esp. 19 § 6 πολλῶν πραγμάτων καὶ μεγάλων καιρῶν; also Aeschin. 3 §§ 66, 92, 94.

328. ἀμελοῦσιν, like the Athenians at this time.

330. πρᾶσθαι: Attic Aorist of ὠρεῖσθαι (see Rutherford's *New Phrynichus* pp. 210-3); 'to purchase,' in the sense of 'buying up,' and 'filching away.' For the context cp. 19 § 133 παρὰ τῶν πωλούντων τὰς πράξεις ἐνωεῖτο, and § 300.

331. τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν, 'mutual concord.' Isocr. 12 § 13 claims credit for having taken the lead in exhorting the Greeks ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμόνοιᾳ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κτλ.

332. τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς βασιβάρους ἀπιστίαν: in Herod. viii 142 the Spartans warn Athens that Alexander (son of Amyntas) the envoy of Mardonius *τύραννος ἔων τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται*, and remind her *ὡς βαρβάρους ἐστὶ οὐτε πιστὸν οὔτε ἀληθεῖς οὐδέν*.

§ 39 l. 334. *ἐκπύραται*: not 'are completely sold,' but 'sold and exported.' (335) *ἀντεισήκται*, 'are imported in exchange.' (ταῦτα) *ὑφ' ἃν ἀπόλωλε* κτλ.: in § 12, *ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολέσθαι*, *ὑπό* is used of *persons*; its use of *things* (as here) is limited to clauses where the subject is personal, as 'Ελλάς. Cp. 55 §§ 20, 28 *ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων* (κακῶς πεπόνθασιν or βεβλάφθαι), and ib. § 30 *διεφθαρμένον ὑπὸ νόσου* (Cl. Rev. v 260).

336. *ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν*: lit. 'is ruined and diseased,' i.e. 'sick unto death,' 'stricken by a mortal malady.' The first verb seems stronger than the second, but is really more vague and gains further precision and force from the latter. *ἀπόλωλε* is also followed by *γέγονεν ἀσθενής* (19 § 90), *διεφθάρται* (ib. 98), *ὑβρίσται* (ib. 287). Cp. § 31 l. 271, and 18 § 36. Cic. *pro Rosc. Am.* 33 *omnes cives perdidit et afflixerit*.

336 f. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; rhetorical question as in 4 § 2. τί is used as the predicate of ταῦτα when one asks for the *general result* of a number of details. § 16; 19 § 217; 55 § 5.

337. ἤλος: expanded in 19 § 259 *θαυμάζονσι καὶ ζηλοῦσι καὶ βούλονται* *ἂν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τοιοῦτος εἶναι*, and § 265. *γέλως, ἂν ὁμολογῇ*: § 54 ll. 448 f.; e.g. Philocrates, 19 §§ 114, 119.

338. *συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχομένοις*: rejected by Spengel, Halm, and Dräseke (pp. 120, 131) on the ground that it mars the symmetry of the three clauses in the context, and, as compared with them, is weak in point of sense. To whatever cause the addition is due, it is parallel to that in ll. 326 f. ending with *οὐδὲ συγγνώμη*. Cp. Introduction pp. lxx f.

339. *τούτοις*, Dat. after *ἐπιτιμῆς*, is naturally *neuter*, 'this conduct,' as in 54 § 6 *τοῖς ἀμαρτηθεῖσιν ἐπιτιμῶν*.

§ 40 l. 341. *σωμάτων πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων*, 'a large supply of men and money.' *σώματα* and *χρημάτων* are joined in 18 §§ 20, 66, etc. *χρημάτων* is, however, coupled with *τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς* by Blass, op. 19 § 89 *κατασκευαῖς ὅλων καὶ χώρας καὶ προσόδων*.

342. *κατασκευῆς*: material (for war), implying a more permanent provision than *παρασκευῆς*. *οἷς ἂν τις λοχεύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνει*: 2 § 15 *οἷς ἂν τις μέγαν αὐτὸν ἡγήσεται*. *οἷς* is best taken, not with *λοχεύειν*, as in [10] § 50,

18 § 7, but with κρείνοι, as in Plato *Phaedrus* 237 D, Aristoph. *Plut.* 48.

343. ἀπασιν τοῖς Ἕλλησι.

(344) τῶν τότε = ἡ τοῖς τότε,

3 § 32.

345. πάντα ἀχρηστ', ἀπρακτ', ἀνόνητα, 'unserviceable, unavailable, unprofitable'; cp. 4 § 36 ἀτακτ' ἀδιόρθωτ' ἀόρισθ' ἀπαντα. Exemplified in the case of Olynthus in 19 §§ 265 f.

§ 41 l. 347. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει τὰ μὲν νῦν ὁρᾷτε, 'that such is the state of these things, in the case of the *present* you see for yourselves.' ταῦτ(α) is broken up into τὰ μὲν and τὰ δ(α).

Halm *Comm.* 699 says that the second half of the antithesis shows that we should place a comma after νῦν, *dass es also mit den jetzigen Verhältnissen steht*; but this would involve the omission of ταῦτ(α).

349. ἀνωθεν, 'earlier,' lit. 'beginning from above downwards,' idiomatically used instead of ἀνω, like κάτωθεν for κάτω in 2 § 10; here of *time*, as in *Prooem.* 30 § 2, cp. 21 § 77 where ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρεῖν is followed by ἀνωθεν ἀρχεσθαι (cf. ib. 160).

τάναντ(α): Adverbial Acc. Neut. Pl., with v.l. τούτων added as in 19 § 2 with τούτου and in 16 § 6 ἐναντ' ἐκείνων. τούναντιον is the usual form, 8 §§ 33, 66; ἐναντίως is found in 1 § 4; 19 § 339.

350. οὐ λόγους ἑμαντοῦ λέγων ἀλλὰ γράμματα, 'by reciting, not any speeches of my own, but documents.'

λέγων is here used in two slightly different senses. 351. δεικνύων, added in certain mss after ὑμετέρων, must be left out: the orator standing on the Pnyx cannot point out an inscr. deposited on the acropolis.

352. κατέθεντ(α) (Thuc. v 47 § 11 καταθέντων . . στήλην χαλκῆν), 'deposited'; a more dignified term than ἐτίθησαν or ἀνέθεσαν. The latter occurs in the parallel from Deinarchus 2 § 24 ταῦτ' εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν γράψαντες ἀνέθεσαν (Dem. would have avoided ∪ ∪ ∪).

εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν. In Lycurgus § 117 the names of the δασιήριοι and προδότες are inscribed on a tablet made by melting down the bronze statue of the traitor Hipparchus. Inscribed tablets of bronze have been found at Olympia and Dodona (SReinsch *Epigr. Gr.* p. 299 n. 10), but are much less common than inscriptions engraved εἰς στήλην λιθίνην. On στήλην, 'tablet,' see note on 20 (*Lept.*) § 36.

εἰς ἀκρόπολιν: the exact position is described in 19 § 272, on the right hand of the 'great bronze statue of Athens erected by the state as the chief memorial of the war with the barbarians.' The article

is here omitted as in 25 § 99; 36 § 16; [58] § 19; in inscriptions ἐμ πόλει (= ἀκροπόλει), and also in the ordinary sense of πόλις (5 § 3 etc.).

353. οὐχ ἔν(α): 6 § 32. (355) παραδείγματα: Deinarchus (2 § 24) describes the same inscr. as a παράδειγμα ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπιγυρομένοις. (356) λέγει: a frequent personification: § 44; 19 § 271; Lycourg. 129 νόμον διαρρήδην λέγοντα.

353-d. οὐχ ἔν(α)—τὰ γράμματα, retained by Spengel, who rightly regards the passage as thoroughly characteristic of Dem., who, he supposes, added it on revising his speech. Voemel calls it a *frigida sententia*; and Dräseke (p. 125) rejects it.

§ 42 l. 357. Ἀρθμιος: this precedent had already been cited by Dem. in accusing Aeschines 19 § 271, and was afterwards turned against Dem. by the latter (3 § 258). It is also quoted by Deinarchus 2 § 24, and (later) by the rhetorician Aristides (i § 10, ii 287, 392 Dind.). Aristides found the text of the decree in Dem. and probably learnt the name of its proposer from Plutarch, who is our earliest authority for the statement that the decree was proposed by Themistocles, *Them.* 6 § 2 ἐτι δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἀρθμιον τὸν Ζελεῖτην. Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ εἰπόντος, καὶ τούτων εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος ἐνέγραψαν, ὅτι τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσὸν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκόμισε. Cp. Thirlwall c. 15 (ii 274), Grote c. 44 (iv 26). If the decree was proposed by Themistocles at all, it must have been before his ostracism in 471. But it is now assigned to Cimon (see n. on l. 359).

Demosthenes ipsa servavit verba decreti, in quo de more scriptum esse debuit Ἀρθμιος Πυθάνακτος Ζελεῖτης. *Suis vero inscriptis verbis usus est* 19 § 271, ubi Ἀρθμιον τὸν Π. τὸν Ζ. dixit . . (Dindorf). Cp. Deinarchus 2 § 24. The Article is regularly omitted in Attic inscriptions giving the name of a citizen followed by that of his father and his deme.

ἄτιμος, 'an outlaw'; see § 44. Cp. 23 § 62 (in the law of homicide) ἄτιμος ἔστω καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ τὰ τέκνα.

358. καὶ τὸν συμμάχων. This implies that the decree belongs to the time of the Delian League, founded 478 B.C. The date 478 B.C., when Mardonius was sending sums of money into the Peloponnese (Diodorus xi 28) before the battle of Plataea, is too early. 476 is suggested by Grote c. 44 (iv 26), that being the time when Pausanias was intriguing with Persia in the Troad (Thuc. i 181 § 1); 465—462-1 by ABauer (*Forschungen zu Aristot.* 'Aθ. πολ.' pp. 74, 90, 137); 457-450 by Busolt (*Gr. Gesch.* ii § 658 note); 454-449 by Swoboda (*Archaeol. epigr. Mitteil. aus Osterr.* xvi 55). Arthmius was a *proctores* of Athens (Aeschin. 3 § 258) and Zeleia belonged to the Athenian Confederacy (*CIA.* i 328, 239). A decree of the Athenian *ἐκκλησία*, declaring a citizen of a confederate State to be an outlaw, must belong (says Busolt) to the time when the Delian League had lost its authority and the Delian League had been practically transformed into the

Athenian Empire. A scholium on Aristides *Panath.* p. 190 (Willamowitz *Coniectanea* 1884 p. 20) states that the mover of the decree was (not Themistocles but) Cimon (who returned from exile in 457). Thus the mission of Arthmias was probably connected with that of the Persian Megabazus who was sent to Sparta with sums of money in 455 (Thuc. i 109 § 1).

359. εἴθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται: emphasised by Deinarchus 2 § 25 μόνω τούτῳ προσέγραψαν τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν ὁ δήμος ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

361. τὸν ἐκ Μήδων (cp. Plut. l.c.): Preposition attracted, as in l. 133, and l § 15 τὸν ἐκείθεν πόλεμον. εἰς Πελοπόννησον: see note on l. 359.

§ 43 l. 362. λογίσεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν: see Pref. to *First Phil.* and *Olynth.* p. xi. 21 § 73 σκέψασθε δὴ πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν . . καὶ λογίσεσθε παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς.

363. διάνοια, 'intention,' 'meaning'; 19 § 252. (364) ἀξίωμα: not 'dignity,' but 'aim,' 'purpose'; διὰ τί ταῦτα ἤξιον ποιεῖν (Schol.). Cp. Soph. *O. C.* 1459 τί δ' ἐστὶ τὰξίωμ' ἐφ' ᾧ καλεῖς; Dem. 18 § 210 τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα, 'the political aims of our ancestors,' followed by τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως, and Isocr. 6 § 89 ἐν ἀξιώμασι καὶ φρονήμασι τηλικούτοις βεβηκότες.

365. Ζέλευ(α): a town in the Troad, S of the Propontis, near Cyzicus. (366) ἐστὶν τῆς Ἀσίας, 'belongs to A.'; 'is in A.' As in the case of Alopecconesus (23 § 166), the explanation may have been needed by an audience, which, as Aeschines says (3 § 82), had never heard of Doriscus etc. The addition also serves to explain why Dem. calls Arthmias *δοῦλον βασιλέως* (either Xerxes in 476, or Artaxerxes in or after 465).

367. χρυσίον, 'gold coin'; Aeschin. 3 § 258 τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, Deinarchus 2 § 34 τὸ χρυσίον <τὸ> ἐκ Μήδων. οὐκ Ἀθηναῖε, added by the orator himself in contrast with εἰς Πελοπόννησον, and of course forming no part of the motives which inspired the Athenians of old. Deinarchus simply says εἰς Π., Dem. 19 § 271 and Plut. εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, and Aeschines εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Aeschines alone adds ἐπιδημήσαντα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πρότερον οὐτα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, thus explaining why the Athenians made such a point of punishing him. The Schol. on Aristides i 310 says that Arthmias was living at Athens, and was accidentally taken prisoner by the Persians (iii 327 Dind.).

368. ἐνέγραψαν, also applied to publicly inscribing the names of benefactors, ἀναγράφαι . . ἐνεργέτην αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους (*CIA.* ii 38; Hicks p. 131). Thuc. i 129 § 3; Xen.

Vect. 3 § 11; Lys. 20 § 19.

(369) ἀτιμοὺς: Pl. because of

καὶ γίνεσθαι.

§ 44 l. 369. τοῦτο δ' ἐστ(ι): similarly Lys. 10 § 17, in explaining a law.

370. ἦν—ἀτιμῶν, 'the outlawry commonly spoken of,' i.e. disfranchisement, loss of the rights of a citizen. οὕτως, 'just so,' 'simply,' 'ordinarily.' τις ἂν φ.: less frequent

than ἂν τις φ. τί . . . τῷ Ζ. (sc. ἦν or τοῦτ' ἐμελεν which is added in many mss) εἰ . . . : 20 § 20 σκεψώμεθα τί τοῦτο τῇ πόλει, εἰ . . . ; 54 § 17 τί ταῦτ' ἐμοί; Aeschines l.c. says that A. was a πρόξενος of Athens; as such, he probably had certain rights at Athens which he lost in consequence of the decree, though Dem. says nothing of this.

371. τῶν Ἀθ. κοινῶν: Gen. of τὰ Ἀθηναίων κοινά. εἰ between emphatic phrase and verb, as in 4 § 29, etc. μὴ μεθέξαι: 15 § 32 τὸν ληπόντα τὴν τάξιν . . . ἀτιμον ὁλεσθε προσήκειν εἶναι καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν μετέχειν. Aeschin. 1 § 160.

372. ἡμέλλειν: in the Paris ms S the forms of μέλλω in η are found only half as often (16 : 32) as those in ε, the latter occurring here and in §§ 1, 64 (Voemel *Proleg.* p. 83).

ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει is found between ἡμέλλειν and ἀλλ' ἐν in many mss, and in the margin of S and L, but not in the text of either, or in Harpocration. They are omitted by Voemel, Well, and Blass; but retained by Spengel (1839) and Dräseke (p. 159).

τοῖς φονικοῖς νόμοις: Dracon's ancient laws of homicide, retained in Solon's code; 20 § 158; 23 § 51; [47] § 71. See note on Aristot. *Const. of Athens* 7 § 1.

373. ἐπὶ (τούτων) ἂν—δικάσασθαι, 'referring to those in whose case he (the legislator) does not allow lawsuits for homicide'; i.e. in any case in which the death of a person does not give rise to legal action. ἂν is masc., and is followed by the Singular, τεθνάτω. φόνου δικάσασθαι: 23 § 67 τοῦ φόνου δικάσασθαι.

374. εὐαγής, 'lawful,' 'sanctioned,' εὐσεβής, cp. *fas*. The word is poetic and archaic, and is found in legal phrases, as (of the person) in law of Solon quoted in Andoc. 1 § 96 ὁ δ' ἀποκτείνας τὸν ταῦτα ποιήσαντα . . . ὅσιος ἐστω καὶ εὐαγής (cp. Plato *Lysis* 874 B; *CIG.* ii 2008); (of the thing, as here) Plut. *Lycurg.* 28 εὐαγής ἢ τὸ ἀρελεῖν.

ἀλλ' εὐαγής ἢ τὸ ἀποκτείναι: regarded by Voemel as an addition suggested by Andoc. l.c. and rejected by Schultz, who doubts whether Dem. would have quoted these words from Solon's law and then gone on to give the general purport of the law, τοῦτο δὲ λέγει, καθάρων

τὸν τούτων τιν' ἀποκτείναντ' εἶναι, instead of explaining εὐαγές. The clause is retained by Dräseke (pp. 150 f.).

ἄτιμος κτλ., 'let him die (says the legislator) an outlaw.' Harpocr. s.v. τοῦτο ἰδίως ἐταξε Δημ. Φιλιππηκοῖς, ἥγουν ὃν ἄν τις ἀποκτεῖναι οὐχ ὑπέκειται ἐπιτιμῇ. The language purports to be that of Dracon. As an alternative form we have νηποιεῖ τεθνάναι (law quoted 23 § 60).

375. τεθνάτω : Perf. Imperative of *decisive* and *final* action (Goodwin *MT.* § 105), as in 21 § 47; 24 § 64. Cp. δεδέσθω (24 § 105); ἀφελσθω (Plato *Laus* 932 D); δεδόσθω (ib. 922 A).

Λέγει τὰ γράμματα (356), or ὁ νομοθέτης as with φησὶν (374). καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τιν' ἀποκτείναντ' εἶναι : 20 § 158 (Dracon) ἔθηκεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐξείναι ἀποκτείνεσθαι, κὰν οὕτω τιν' δράσθ, καθαρὸν διώρισεν εἶναι. In the decree, so far as it is quoted here and elsewhere, nothing is directly said as to the slaying of Arthmīus.

The orator's interpretation of the decree against Arthmīus has been much criticised. Spengel in 1839 (*Abh. d. Bayr. Ak. d. W.* 3 pp. 108 ff.) contended that, neither in that decree nor in the law of Homicide, did the word ἄτιμος mean 'an outlaw.' Dindorf, in his Oxford ed. (1849), ascribes to a *falsarius* the whole of § 44; and, in his Leipzig ed., places it in brackets. Spengel in 1860 (*Δημ.* 60 f.) urges that the words are genuine, and that the *falsarius* was the orator himself. Dem. is defended by Weil (ed. 1873), who points out that ἄτιμος primarily means 'deprived of an honour or right'; in the phrase ἄτιμος τεθνάτω that 'right' is clearly 'the right of having his death avenged' (Aesch. *Ag.* 1279 οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοί γ' ἐκ θανάτου τερνίζομεν ἕξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος εὖ τιμωροί). It is true that in l. 337 ἄτιμος is not followed by τεθνάτω, and therefore (it is contended) the orator's explanation of the word is incorrect. But his explanation of the purport of the decree in general is sound. The phrase πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων in itself implies proscription; a public enemy, *hostis*, may be killed with impunity, as in the law cited in Andoc. 1 § 90 πολέμιος ἔστω Ἀθηναίων καὶ νηποιεῖ τεθνάτω. Denn. is also defended at great length by EMüller in Westermann's 7th ed. (1875) pp. 412-424, who adds a ref. to Plato *Gorg.* 508 D εἰαὶ ἐὰν τὸ βουλομένην, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄτιμοι τοῦ θύλλοντος, ἂν τε τῶνται βούληται . . . ἐπὶ κόρον, ἂν τε γράμματα ἀφαιρῶσθαι, ἂν τε, τὸ ἔργον, ἀποκτεῖναι. § 44 and the preceding words καὶ ἄτιμους (end of § 43) and ἄτιμος καὶ (early in § 42) are rejected by ASpengel (1887). Blass (1893) considers that they might have been omitted with advantage.

§ 45 l. 378. ἐπιμελητέον : Goodwin *MT.* § 923. (379 f.) ἀνάται καὶ διαφθείρει, αὐτο *corrumpit*. 19 § 7 λαβόντα (καὶ διαφθερόμεντα ὑπὸ χρημάτων, and § 13 διεφθαρμένους καὶ πεπρακώς ἐαυτὸν. (380) μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν = εἰ μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπελάμβανον (Goodwin *MT.* § 841), 'unless they held this opinion.'

380 f. ἐκόλαζον καὶ ἐτιμωροῦν(τα) : Plato *Prot.* 324 c; Aristot. *Eth.* iii 7; *Rhet.* i 10, 17 ἡ μὲν κόλασις τοῦ πάσχοντος ἐνεκά ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ τιμωρία τοῦ ποιούντος, ἵνα ἀποπληρωθῇ. (381) οὕς :

sc. *ὄνουμενους καὶ διαφθείροντας, ποὶ δωροδοκοῦντας*, which is added in all mss except S. The latter could only refer to those who received bribes, not to those who gave them (Cobet *MC.* 35). αἰσθύνοντο, frequentative Opt., 6 § 20; Goodwin *MT.* § 532.

382. *στηλίτας ποιῶν*, 'to record their names in brass' (K), 'to post them on a pillar or tablet'; Aristeides ii 392 *Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀρθμίον ἐστηλίτευσεν*. Cp. Isocr. 16 § 9 *στηλίτην ἀναγράφειν*, Aristot. *Rhet.* ii 23, 25 *στηλίτης γεγονώς ἐν τῇ ἀκροτάλει* (with Cope's n.), and Andoc. 1 §§ 51, 78; Lycurg. § 117.

§ 46 l. 385. *πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα*(α): generally understood of cases of treason and corruption, to which Athens was now indifferent. ASpengel (*Beitrag* 284, 293 f.) refers it to the indifference of Athens to her position as protector of the general interests of Greece. He declines to understand τῶν ἄλλων of 'other similar cases,' as this would be practically equivalent to τὰ τοιαῦτα, and suggests that it refers to the subsequent context with its argument that the Athenians of the present day, unlike their forefathers, cannot meet the enemy in a pitched battle (429).

386. *ἀλλὰ πῶς*; according to the shorter version of this speech, that in the body of S and L, these words are immediately followed by *εἰπω καλέετε, καὶ οὐκ ὀργισθεῖς*; This implies that the orator is on the point of setting forth some recent examples of the carelessness and indifference with which the Athenians had regarded acts of bribery and corruption, and of the consequent weakening of their power of opposing a foreign foe. Such examples would stand in striking contrast with the severity with which their ancestors punished agents of corruption, such as Arthmius.

According to the longer version, found in the margin of S and L and in all the other mss, the orator evades answering the question by adding *ὅτι αὐτοὶ κτλ.*, closing with the words *διότι φημι ἔγωγε καὶ σπουδῆς πολλῆς καὶ βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα προσδεῖσθαι*. The addition of *τίνας* is ascribed by Spengel and others to an attempt to combine the two versions.

387. *κατηγορεῖν ὑμῶν περὶ πάντων* is the constr., as in 8 § 39, where the sense is somewhat different. *παρὰ πλεονεξίας δέ* (= γὰρ): sc. *ἔχουσι*.

390. *προσδεῖσθαι*, less obvious than *δεῖσθαι*, but found c. Gen. in 6 § 24 *δαπάνης*; 9 § 41 and 19 § 233 *μάρτυροι*; 19 § 275 *κατηγόρου*.

391. *εἰπω*: interrogative Subj. with *καλέετε*, as often with *βούλεσθε* (Goodwin *MT.* § 287).

392. ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ: this heading or lemma is found in some important mss (B L Y F), and omitted in others (e.g. O). Reiske regards it as out of place, on the ground that, while statements of accounts, decrees, evidence, and laws might be read aloud, this would not apply to a statement of policy in a deliberative speech (this assumes that the document consisted βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς). GHSchaefer supposes that the document was a draft of a decree, all the grounds for which had already been set forth by the orator. The heading is rejected by Baizer and Sauppe, also by Voemel, Franke, Dindorf, and Blass, and by WChrist and ASpengel. Benseler proposes to place it before § 42. If any document was read at this point, it is difficult to suggest a satisfactory account of its probable contents. Rehdantz supposes that it included proposals for an alliance on equal terms between Athens and all Greece, including Thebes, with a resignation of all claim to supremacy on the part of Athens. Drewes, that it supplied some proof of the modern Athenian carelessness and indifference to corruption, and the consequent disadvantage at which Athens stood in opposing the foreign foe; such proof might have been a statement as to some commander or envoy who had been bribed by Philip to the disadvantage of Athens. Weil asks: 'how could the simple reading of a document throw any light on the change that had come over the political character of Athens? How could it ruffle the audiences to the extent of requiring to be introduced by cautious phrases like those in the text? Further, if Dem. did not confine himself to reading the document, but proceeded to discuss it, it would have been contrary to all precedent to read such a discussion. Even if the heading is omitted, the connexion is not quite clear.' In τὸν αὐτὸν — προσεῖσθαι, i.e. in the longer of the two versions (both of which Weil attributes to Dem. himself), the orator declines to state what the audience know of themselves, and the connexion is perfect. In the shorter version, ἀλλὰ πῶς; εἰπὼ κελεύετε, καὶ οὐκ ὀργιέσθε, he asks permission to speak frankly; but the following section fails to satisfy the expectations thus raised. Weil accordingly supposes either that Dem. intended to add a passage which was not actually reduced to writing, or that, to restore the shorter version, we should omit §§ 47-53, and the first line of § 54, going on immediately from ὀργιέσθε; to ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἄφίχθε μωρίας. The latter suggestion is independently made by JBrill (*Mnemosyne* 1873 pp. 205-8), but appears very improbable. I should prefer the alternative of a lacuna in the shorter version (see Introduction p. lxi). Dräseke, who retains the heading, supposes that the document quoted some striking modern contrast to the case of Arthimius (p. 148). But, if any document had been read, it would certainly have been commented on, however briefly, in the subsequent context. It is therefore best to regard the insertion of the lemma as an attempt to fill an ancient lacuna.

§ 47 l. 396. οἱ . . (398) αὐτοὺς: 3 § 24; 19 § 309; 15 § 26 ἡ βασιλεία μὲν ἐστίν, εἰχετε δ' αὐτὴν ὑμεῖς. The relative construction is dropped in the final clause. βασιλείας and (397) βασιλεία, in emphatic position. (396) γῆς ἀπάσης, all the known world. (397) ὑφίστατο: c. Acc., as in Thuc. i 144 § 4 ὑποστάντες Μήδους; iv 127 § 2; vii 66 § 2; less often c. Dat.; with both in Eur. *Herc.* 1349 f.

399. ἀνηρπάσθη, 'swept away'; Aeschin. 3 § 133 (Thebes) ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνηρπάσται. The time is that of the Corinthian war, 4 § 3. ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν: see note on 6 § 1 οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν.

400. ἐληφότων ἐπίδοσιν, 'have received . . improvement' = ἐπιδευκότων, 'have improved,' 'advanced'; [61] §§ 41, 46. 5 § 22 κρίσιν εληφέναι. This periphrasis admits of the addition of πολλήν. Similarly Plato *Symp.* 175 κ πολλήν ἐπίδοσιν ἔχουσα.

402. τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεκινήσθαι ('changed,' 'advanced'): Sallust *Cat.* 1, 5 *res militaris magis procederet*. Among the changes in military matters since the Peloponnesian war which have been noticed are the introduction of light-armed troops by Iphicrates (393 B.C.), and heavy columns by Epameinondas (371 B.C.), and the rise of a separate class of professional soldiers. Cp. Grote c. 87 (viii 34-38).

§ 48 l. 403. ἀκούω, 'I am informed': a modest way of referring to the facts of history. Cp. 3 § 21; 4 § 24, and note on 20 (*Lept.*) § 11 λέγονται.

404. τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε: the Greek winter lasted four and a half months, from the middle of Nov. to the end of March (Thuc. vi 21 § 2 μηνῶν τεσσάρων τῶν χειμερινῶν), leaving seven and a half for the operations of war. This estimate was much reduced in practice. In the text it is reduced to four or five months.

τὴν ὥραν αὐτὴν, 'during the (summer) season only'; Acc., as in Herod. vii 50, 2 ὥρην τοῦ ἔτους καλλίστην πορευόμεθα. Cp. 4 § 32 τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους.

ἐμβαλόντας ἄν . . ἀναχωρεῖν: indirect for ἐμβαλόντες . . ἀνεχώρουν ἄν, iterative Imperf. with ἄν (Goodwin *MT.* § 210). For the sense cp. Thuc. i 30 § 4; ii 23 § 3; iii 1 § 2 ἐμεινάντες δὲ χρόνον οὐ εἶχον τὰ σιτία, ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις. The longest inroad into Attica described by Thuc. (ii 57) lasted 40 days. The above texts refer of course to the Peloponnesian war, but the same holds good of the Corinthian war, which is here meant (§ 47).

406. ὁπλίταις: the associative form of the instrumental Dat., as in 8 § 3 l. 21; Thuc. i 61 § 4 ἐπορεύοντο τρισχιλίας ὁπλίταις, ii 21 § 1 ἐσβαλὼν στρατῷ (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 425, 4).

πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν, 'armies composed of citizen soldiers,' 'national troops,' opp. to ξένους (§ 49). 18 § 237 ἀνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων.

408. ἀρχαίως, (were so) 'old-fashioned'; ἀφελῶς καὶ χωρὶς πανουργίας (Schol.). Cp. Thuc. i 71 § 2 ἀρχαϊότροπα.

πολιτικῶς, 'like true citizens,' 'loyal' to one another and to the spirit of a free state; 'true to their state'; 'national'; 'patriotic'; Isocr. 4 § 79 οὕτω δὲ πολιτικῶς εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἐποιούντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐχ ὁπότεροι . . ἀρξουσιν, ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι φθίσονται τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθὸν τι ποιήσαντες. πολιτικόν is coupled with δίκαιον in 18 § 13; cp. 19 § 99. Adv. in

[10] § 74 οὐκ ἴσως οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς ἐνιοι τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν πολιτεύονται, 25 § 74 οὐκ ὁρθῶς οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς, *Ep.* 1 § 9 μεγαλοφύχως καὶ πολιτικῶς (all the exx. in Dem.). Here the innate sense of the *civile atque popolare, quod Gracchi πολιτικὸν vocant* (Cic. *de Fin.* v 60) is extended from the individual city to the Greeks at large.

409. ὥστ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ἀνέσθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν: an exceptional use of ὥστε οὐ with Inf. In any case it is equivalent to ὥστ' οὐκ ἐνωῦντα. But it can hardly be explained as *oratio obliqua* corresponding to the preceding ἀκούω with Inf. (as suggested by Shilleto App. B to Dem. *Fals. Leg.*); for ἀκούω is too remote. Nor, again, is there any other Inf. in the same clause (as in 18 § 283; 19 §§ 152, 308; Aeschin. 1 § 174; 3 § 96); nor a leading clause with *ὅτι* or *ὥς* (as in Xen. *Mém.* iv 8, 1; Aristot. *Pol.* ii 9, 17). Other exx. are 53 § 1 οὐδ' αὖ οὕτως ἄπορος ἦν . . . ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ἐξευρεῖν . . . and Lycurgus 3 περιέστηκεν εἰς τοῦτο, ὥστε τὸν ἰδίᾳ κινδυνεύοντα οὐ φιλόπολιν ἀλλὰ φιλοπράγμονα δοκεῖν εἶναι. In the text it is simplest to regard ὥστε οὐ as emphasising a fact, and not stating a mere result (Kriiger *Gr. Spr.* § 67, 6, 2). (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* § 513, 4 unsatisfactorily takes οὐδὲ closely with *χρημάτων*.) The emphasis on the fact is further kept up by the double οὐδενὸς οὐδέν.

χρημάτων (3 § 22) ἀνέσθαι — προφανῆ τὸν πόλεμον: so Pyrrhus in Ennius quoted by Cic. *de Off.* i 38 *nec cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes, ferro, non auro vitam cernamus utrique.*

§ 49 l. 413. ἐκ παρατάξεως: Aeschin. 3 § 88; 'in fair field,' in open combat, with troops duly drawn up. Cp. Dem. 19 § 61 ἐκ προσβολῆς, 9 § 13 ἐκ προρρήσεως, 6 § 16 ἐκ προαρέσεως.

414. οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγ' ὀπλιτῶν ἄγειν, 'not (merely) because he leads a phalanx of heavy-armed troops.' The hoplites were, however, the main strength of the Macedonian army. It has been suggested that 'phalanx' may perhaps be here used as a general term for heavy infantry in battle-array (as in Xen. *Anab.* vi 3, 25), without any reference to the special organisation of the Macedonian phalanx by Philip (Diodor. xvi 3 ἐπενόησε δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς φάλαγγος πυκνότητα . . . καὶ πρῶτος συνεστήσατο τὴν Μακεδονικὴν φάλαγγα). But the orator can hardly be referring to anything else than Philip's improvements in the 'phalanx.' For the sake of his argument, however, he throws the 'phalanx' into the shade, and insists on the additional light-armed troops, etc., of Philip's armament. The latter were apparently the standing army; the heavy-armed troops for the 'phalanx' being only called out on occasions of special emergency. Holm (iii c. 18 end of note 9) holds that Dem. did not understand Philip's method of con-

ducting war, and has given an incorrect account of it. The battle of Chaeroneia was a battle of hoplites.

415. βαδίζον(τα): Acc. after ἀκούετε. ψιλοῦς: these 'light-armed' troops may be identified with the ὑπασπισταὶ τῶν ἐταίρων of which we hear little before Alexander. 'They were different from the light-armed soldiers of the Greek army. In the style of armour provided for them, they were intermediate between the πεζέταιροι and the πελτασταί. Besides the Macedonian helmet and shield, they had a long sword and a spear, but no javelins for hurling at a distance (Droysen *Kriegs-alt.* p. 110). On Philip's military system see Hogarth's *Philip . . of Macedon* pp. 53-64.

416. ἑταίρους: Philip bestowed great care on his cavalry. His horsemen were armed like the Greek hoplites; they also had a lance of cornel-wood, but no stirrups or saddles (Smith *Dict. Ant. s.v. exercitus* i 777 b; Droysen pp. 109 f.). Philip had 3000 horsemen (including Thessalians) in his war against the Phocians (Diodor. xv 35). ξένους: Greek mercenary troops forming a standing army for use in sieges, and for taking any forts beyond the bounds of Macedonia (Droysen p. 111). τοιοῦτον (§ 25) . . στρατώμεδον, 'and other troops of like character.' (τῷ) ἐξηρτηθεῖαι, 'by his having attached to himself, 'being always furnished with.' Perf. Pass. with Acc. of the thing 'hung on one' as a beard (Aristoph. *Eccl.* 494), a wallet (Lucian *Fugitiv.* 14), a bundle of letters (Aeschin. 3 § 164), or an infant (Plut. *Brut.* 31). Cp. προσηρτημένον (§ 12) and contrast ἀπηρτημένοι (§ 12). The v.l. ἐξηρτηθεῖαι, 'by his having furnished or provided himself with,' is generally found with *Dat.* in the Pass. but with *Acc.* after the Middle, as here and in Thuc. i 13 § 1 (cp. 121 § 3) 'to fit out'; elsewhere (i 25 § 4; ii 13 § 2; 85 § 3), 'to put into good condition.' Neither word is used elsewhere in Dem.

§ 50 L. 417. ἐπὶ τοῦτους, 'after all this'; 'to crown all.'

418. νοσοῦντας = στασιάζοντας: § 12; 2 § 14. (419) ἀποστάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μηχανήματ(α): Philip greatly improved the military engines, such as catapults and besieging-towers. The sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium (340 B.C.), shortly after this date, begin a new era in the art of besieging towns; Athen. *de Machinis*, quoted by Grote c. 90 (viii 189). ASchaefer ii 500-10².

420. σιωπῇ: sc. ὡς θέρος καὶ χειμὼν οὐδὲν (αὐτῷ) διαφέρει. Dem. considers it unreasonable that Philip should not feel himself bound by the good old rule of campaigning in summer alone. There is a kind of chivalrous feeling about this

tradition, but it is obviously unpractical. Holm (iii c. 18 n. 9) has some excellent remarks on this passage.

421. ἐξαιρέτος ὥρα τις ἦν διαλείπειν, 'a stated (lit. 'excepted') season of repose' (K); what, in other connexions, we call 'a close season'; the epithet is explained by ἦν διαλείπειν: 2 § 23 μήτε καιρὸν μὴθ' ὥραν παραλείπων.

§ 51 l. 423. εἰδὼτας καὶ λογιζομένους: see 4 § 3. προσίσταται, 'let (the war) approach.'

424. εὐήθειαν: good-natured 'simplicity' of the old times (cp. § 48 ἀρχαίως). Adj. in §§ 10, 47, 73; Subst. in good sense in 19 § 107 εὐήθειαν καὶ πραύτητα.

426. ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι: there are several explanations of the meaning of the word and the metaphor implied. (1) 'to be violently thrown' as from horseback; Xen. *Cyrop.* i 4, 8 ὁ ἵππος πίπτει εἰς γόνατα, καὶ μικροῦ κάκεινον ἐκτραχήλισεν, cp. ἀνεχάτισσε (2 § 9); here 'to plunge headlong into destruction' (L & S, following Reiske's *Iulius*, 'in caput praeceps ferri et sic cervicis rumpere'). The text is explained in Etym. Magn. ἐκπεσεῖν τῶν ἵππων, ὁ τὸν αὐχένα ἐπικάμψαντες ἀποσπένονται τὸν ἐπιβάτην . . . (2) 'to wrench one's neck out of joint,' 'twist one's neck,' here by looking back to the simple and primitive style of conducting war; 'got your necks broken' (K); Act. 'to break a person's neck,' Aristoph. *Lys.* 705 πρὶν ἂν τοῦ σκέλους λαβὼν τις ὑμᾶς ἐκτραχηλίσῃ φέρων (cp. ὑποσκελίζειν, 18 § 138); Pass. 'to break one's own neck,' *Niob.* 1501 ἐκτραχηλισθῶ (*Plut.* 70 — ᾗ) πεσών. (3) 'to be utterly overpowered,' a stronger form of τραχήλιζω, 'to take by the throat,' or 'bend the neck back,' in wrestling; like τραχηλισμός, a rather late word, though Xen. *Lac.* 5, 9 has ἀπὸ τραχήλου γυμνάζονται, cp. the metaphor from wrestling below (429) συμπλακύντας διαγωνίζεσθαι. Of these (1) is preferred by Westermann, Heslop, Rehdantz-Blass, and Weil, and is perhaps most in the manner of Dem. (cp. 2 § 9). (1) and (2) are ingeniously combined in Voemel's *ercussi colla frangatis*. In (2) and (3) the τράχηλος is that of the person, in (1) that of the horse.

ὡς ἐκ πλείστου φυλάττεσθαι—παρασκευαίς, 'provide for our safety, from (at) as great a distance as possible, both by our policy (management of affairs) and by our armaments.' 21 § 220 μὴ παρορᾶν τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴδ' ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐλθεῖν περιμένειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείστου φυλάττεσθαι, *Prooem.* 14 § 3 πόρρωθεν φυλάξεσθαι. ἐκ πλείστου: of place, rather than time (as K 'take the longest time beforehand for').

428. ὅπως . . μὴ κινήσεται: Goodwin *MT.* § 339; note on

1 § 2.
home.'

οἰκοθεν . . κινήσεται, 'stir (or 'start') from

429. οὐχὶ (δεῖ) συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι: lit. 'and (we ought) not, by grappling with him, come to a decisive engagement,' i.e. 'and we must avoid getting entangled with him in any decisive engagement'; a metaphor from wrestling as in 2 § 21. Similar advice had been given by Pericles to Athens in her struggle with Sparta (Thuc. i 143 § 5 μὴ διαμάχεσθαι). It was not until Athens had, by means of Dem., obtained an alliance with Thebes, that she confronted Philip; but, even with that advantage, she was defeated in the decisive engagement of Chaeroneia.

§ 52 l. 429. πρὸς c. Acc. varied with εἰς (434): cp. 6 § 10.

430. πόλεμον . . (434) ἀγών(α): in a contest between Athens and Philip, Athens would have the advantage in a 'war,' but Philip in a 'pitched battle.' In 14 § 9 the converse is said of a contest between Athens and Persia.

432. ἐθελωμεν, 'resolve,' 1 § 6; 4 § 7. ἡ φύσις τῆς —χώρας: 18 § 146 αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου (of Macedonia).

433. ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν form one phrase, and κακῶς ποιεῖν another. πολλήν is assimilated in gender to the partitive Gen. τῆς (sc. χώρας). Thuc. vi 7 § 1 τῆς γῆς ἔτεμον οὐ πολλήν. Cp. 4 § 16.

434. ἄλλα μυρία: the usual asyndeton at the end of an enumeration.

§ 53 l. 436. οὐ μόνον . . οὐδὲ (μόνον) . . ἀλλά: 18 §§ 2, 93, 107.

438. τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ, 'on conviction and on principle.' (439) μισῆσαι, 'abhor,' emphatically placed last in the clause. μισεῖν coupled with τιμωρεῖσθαι in 19 §§ 87, 289, and with κολάζειν in 8 § 76; 19 § 258.

440. τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν κτλ.: nearly the same words are introduced by οὐκ ἔστιν in 8 § 61, with ἔξω before τῆς πόλεως, and ἐχθροῖς instead of ὑπηγετοῦντας ἐκείνοις.

§ 54 l. 442. μὲν τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς: elsewhere the oath ends with καὶ θεοῖς (36 § 53), or καὶ θεοὶ πάντας (23 § 188).

443. ἐμεῖς, emphatic. εἰς τοῦτ(ο) α. Gen.: see 4 § 37, here followed by ὥστε (446).

444. ἡ—οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω: 'folly' or 'madness' might have been followed by 'infatuation,' which is the sense of the sequel. But, instead of adding any such word, the orator

pauses as though no stronger word were possible. Such a *διαπόρῃσις* or *ἀποσιώπησις* is more effective than any addition. For other exx. see 18 §§ 3, 22, 195; 16 § 18. *τί λέγω*: Deliberative Subj. with Interrogative after οὐκ *ἔχω* = *ἀπορώ*, Goodwin *MT*. § 677, *Harvard Studies* vii 3.

446. *μή τι διαμόνιον* ('some evil genius') *τὰ πράγματα* 'λατύνῃ, 'is driving our affairs' (to destruction): Soph. *AI*. 504 *κάμει μὲν δαίμων ἐλῆ*. See note on 2 § 20 *κακοδαίμονίας*.

447. *λοιδορίας*, 'wrangling,' 6 § 32; *Prooem.* 35 § 2; dependent on *ἐνεκ(α)*: on the position of the latter cp. 18 § 283; 20 § 88; 5 § 6. *φθόνου*: the excitement of (or anything that tends to excite) envy. In contrast to the absence of conjunctions in this severely condensed passage, we have them fully expressed in passages of similar general sense, as 57 § 6 and *Prooem.* 31 § 2. *σκάμματος*, cp. *γελᾶτε* (450). *ἥστινος ἂν τύχη* 'ἐνεκ' αἰτίας: lit. 'for whatever reason you may chance (to do so),' sc. *κελεύοντες*. Cp. Thuc. iii 43 § 5 *πρὸς ὁργὴν ἦντιν' ἂν τύχῃτε ἔστιν ὅτε σφαλέντες* . . . *ζημοῦτε*. The relative pronoun in this phrase is always assimilated to the case of the noun, and the phrase as a whole is equivalent to *quilibet*.

449. οὐκ: due to the influence of the negative in the principal verb of denial, as in 8 § 31 l. 237.

450. *γελᾷτ(ε)*: § 39 *γέλως*, *ἂν ὁμολογῇ*, 19 § 46 *ἐγελᾶτε*, of the *λοιδορία* of Philocrates; 23 § 206 *ἂν ἐν ἡ δύο ἀστεία εἰπωσιν*, *ἀφίετε*.

§ 55 l. 451. οὐχί *πῶ* *τοῦτο* *δαινόν*: cp. 8 § 30. (452) *μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας* κτλ.: probably with conscious reference to his prosecution of Aeschines. We have a close parallel in the calmer but no less severe language of 18 § 138 *δεδώκατ' ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ, τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῶν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι*. διόπερ ῥᾶν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον *δεῖ* τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα *μισθαρνεῖν*, ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον *τάξιν* *πολιτεῦσθαι*.

455. *λέξω* κτλ., 'I shall state facts which you will all remember.' Dem. shows extraordinary skill in using the same familiar facts to prove Philip's duplicity (§ 11), and the danger thus accruing to Athens (§ 18), his injustice towards Greece and his restless aggressiveness (§ 26), his contempt for the Greeks in general, and his remorseless conduct towards individual states (§ 33), the frightful consequences of a policy friendly towards Macedonia (§ 56), and the slavery which befell his victims when it was too late for them to repent (*Rehdantz*).

§ 56 l. 457. ἦσαν . . τινὲς μὲν Φιλίππου . . τινὲς δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου: Isocr. 8 § 129 τοὺς μὲν . . τῆς πόλεως ὄντας καὶ τῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λεγόντων. τοῦ βελτίστου: cp. § 63; 8 § 32. (459) ὅπως μὴ c. Fut. (428). τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν, 'those at the head of affairs'; Thuc. iii 28 § 1; Aristot. *Pol.* 1307 b 9; similar in sense to τῶν ἐπὶ τ. π. (§ 2).

461. τοὺς ἰππίας προῦδσαν: § 66. In an engagement near the walls of Olynthus one of Philip's partisans betrayed into the hands of the invaders a force of 500 horsemen (19 § 267). Cp. 8 § 40. (463) φρονοῦντες: § 18. ἦν: 8 § 17; 20 § 22 ἀνερ ἢ πόλις ᾗ. (465) Ἀπολλωνίδην: the leader of the democratic party, § 66. The Athenians presented him with the citizenship, which, however, he afterwards lost owing to his demerits ([59] § 91).

§ 57 l. 467. οὐ . . παρὰ τοῖτοις . . ἄλλοι δ' οὐδαμῶς: a formula of transition; the negative affects both clauses, as in § 27 l. 240.

μόνον: Adv. as in 16 § 18 ὑπὲρ τούτου μόνον ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν λόγον. Adj. in 3 § 12 τούτου μόνου. Here there is a v.l. *μόνοις*. The Adv. and Adj. are both used by Dem. (Gebauer *de hypotacticis* pp. 181, 381 f.).

Cobet prefers *μέν*, as in § 27; 18 § 288 καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν ὁμοῖο οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες . . ἄλλος πῶς, ἀλλὰ . . ; 19 § 129; 29 § 64; 48 § 43. He considers that in such passages *μέν* and *μόνον* are sometimes interchanged, and quotes [18] § 28 (*μόνον*); 22 § 60 (*μέν*, where Dio Cassius seems to have read *μόνον*); 24 § 176 (*μόνον*).

ἔθος, 'practice'; used like *mos*, in a bad sense. (468) πάντα κακά, 'utter mischief'; 19 § 314.

469. Πλουτάρχου: cp. 5 § 5 (note on Εὐβοῖα). (470) καὶ τῶν ξένων, 'with his mercenaries.'

The Scholia on 5 § 5 and 21 § 110 state that, after Phocion had left Euboea, Plutarchus ordered his unpaid mercenaries to demand payment from the Athenians. They accordingly captured the small Athenian force which was still on the island, and did not release them until they had received from Athens a ransom of 50 talents. Thereupon Plutarchus left Euboea (ASchaefer ii 84⁵).

471. ἐφ' ὧμῶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα: 18 § 151 ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐδοῖς ἡγεμόνα ἦγον (τὸ πρᾶγμα), cp. 19 § 323; Livy xxxii 19, 2 *principem factionis ad Philippum trahentium res*, and xxiii 8, 2.

472. τούτων: Philip's partisans. 473. μάλλον goes with ἀκούοντες, i.e. listening, for the most part, more to Philip's partisans (than to our own).

ταλαίπωροι, 'sorely tried'; 18 § 19 (the Thebans) ταλαίπω-
ρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου. (474) τελευτῶντες;
8 § 49. τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγοντας, 'their true friends.'

(475) ἐκβαλεῖν (466): ἐκβάλλειν S, 'non omnes simul
expulsi sunt,' Voemel.

§ 58 l. 475. καὶ γὰρ τοι: 4 § 6; 'for indeed'; equivalent to
καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοι γὰρ τοι, and explanatory of δυστυχέας.

(476) ὁ σύμμαχος: ironical.

478. Ἰππάρχων: of Eretria, named with Cleitarchus in 18
§ 295 among the betrayers of Euboea. He apparently did not
long survive his appointment (Plut. *Αγορίων*. 178 D).

(479) Αὐτομέδοντα: mentioned here only. Κλείταρχων

(§ 66): of Eretria, the real head of the Macedonian party in
Euboea. He had long been aiming at supreme power in the
island, and (with the aid of Aeschines) had entered into nego-
ciations with Athens, but had been repelled by her (18 § 82).
The establishment of these tyrants in Euboea apparently took
place in 343-42 B.C. (ASchaefer ii 422²).

ἐξέληλακεν, 'has expelled' (the democratical party among the
Eretrians); Perf. denoting permanent result, used instead of
the Aorists of the previous sentence. Perf. and Aor. Part. are
combined in § 71. The facts here stated are known to us
through Dem. alone.

ῥίς is sometimes taken with ἐξέλη-
λακεν and ἤδη with βουλομένους, *bis regione expulsi, qui jam
securari vellunt* (Voemel). ῥίς is twice found at the end of the
clause after the verb in 19 § 211; and it is here explained by
τότε μὲν and πάλιν ῥί. ῥίς ἤδη, if taken together, might mean
ἤδη τὸ δεύτερον; 'twice attempting their deliverance' K; ῥίς
precedes a Participle in 18 § 216; 24 § 134. Rehdantz (1874)
thinks the position of ῥίς, if taken with the Verb, exceptional;
he takes it with the Participle, omitting the clause containing
τότε μὲν and πάλιν ῥί.

481. σφίσι, to be delivered' from subordination to
Philip's partisans.

Εὐρυλόχων, named (with Antipater
and Parmenion) in the Second Argument to Or. 19 as one of
Philip's envoys in the negotiations with Athens relating to the
Peace of 346 (ASchaefer ii 212²).

(482) Παρμενίωνος.
His presence in Euboea at this time is confirmed by Carystius,
quoted in Athen. 508 E, whence we infer that he was the
besieger of Oreos (ib. 420² n. 1).

τότε μὲν πέμψας—Παρμενίωνος: omitted in S²L¹, but added in
margin by a later hand, ascribed in the case of S to cent. xii. The words
are regarded as an interpolation by Funkhaenel, Westermann, Schultz, and
Rehdantz (in 1874). Their omission is ascribed to accident by Voemel and
Rehdantz (in 1856); and they are accepted as genuine by Spengel and

Dräseke (pp. 157 f.). It has been shown above that the facts here stated are confirmed from other sources.

§ 59 l. 483. καὶ τὶ δὲ—λέγειν; a formula of transition, giving prominence to one fact out of many; cp. § 25.

Πρῶτον: 8 § 18.

484. ἐπράττε Φιλίππῳ, 'was working in the interest of, acting for, P.'; 19 § 77; 23 § 11; Thuc. v 76 § 3 οἱ τοῖς Λακ. πρᾶττοντες, iv 106 § 2; viii 5 § 3. (Funkhaenel gives other exx. in *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymn.* 1854 p. 886.)

487. Εὐφράτης . . παρ' ἡμῶν: Euphraeus of Oreos was a pupil of Plato, and had been recommended by his master to the notice of Perdiccas, whom he had persuaded to entrust part of his dominions to the rule of his younger brother, Philip. Though described by Carystius as φαῦλος καὶ διάβολος, he had for a while enjoyed high favour at the Macedonian court, but he ultimately became one of the most determined opponents of the Macedonian cause (cp. Harpocr. s.v.; Carystius ap. Athen. 506 E, 508 E; ASchaefer ii 15², 419²).

488. (ἐπράττε) δυνος . . ἔσσονται (501); Goodwin *MT.* § 339. Δαίμονες followed by μηδενὸς δοῦλοι: cp. 6 § 31. The instinct for freedom had been inspired (it is implied) by his residence in Athens.

§ 60 l. 489. οἶτος . . ὥς: for the order cp. Lys. 30 § 6 ἀναμνησθέντας . . οὗτος ὥς—προσενήνεκται. (490) ὑβρίζω (8 § 62) καὶ προὔπηλακίζε(το), 'was insulted and trampled upon.' ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου is a doubtful addition; the popular party did not themselves insult Euphraeus, but left him in the lurch, when they ought to have defended him (Bl.).

491. πολλὰ ἂν εἴη λέγειν=[49] § 66; Lys. 32 § 11; Plato *Protag.* 344 A πολλὰ ἐστὶ περὶ ἐκάστου ἀποδείξαι. *Rep.* 271 E, and Dem. 19 § 180 μυρὶ ἂν εἴη λέγειν. The formula is not frequent: πολλὰ ἂν εἴη ἔργον λέγειν would be a more obvious expression, but would involve *hiatus*.

πρότερον: here a Prep.=πρὸ, as in [42] § 2; Lys. 9 § 13; Aeschin. 1 § 12 and often in Herod., e.g. viii 96. Similarly ὕστερον in Lys. 3 § 45; 26 § 21.

492. ἐνέδειξεν, 'reported'; 'laid an information against'; a term of Attic law. 20 § 156 ἐνδείξεις καὶ ἀπαγωγάς, 24 § 146 ἐνδείχθαι ἢ ἀπαχθῆναι, *Ep.* 5 ἐνδείξειν καὶ ἀπῆχθαι (Meier and Schömann p. 27 ed. Lipsius).

494. συσπράφιντες, 'banding themselves together'; the same participle in 23 § 170; Aeschin. 2 § 178. χορηγόν, 'paymaster'; 19 § 216 Φιλίππῳ χορηγῷ χρώμενος. See *Introduct.*

to Dem. *Lept.* p. vii. (495) *πρωτανεύμενοι*: acting under his direction, *διακούμενοι καὶ διατρεφόμενοι* (Harpocr.); the latter explanation belongs to *χορηγὸν ἔχοντες*. Cp. 5 § 6 *διακούοντα* . . . καὶ *πρωτανεύοντα*, 15 § 3 ὁ *πρωτανεύσας ταῦτα καὶ πέρας*.

ἀπάγουσι, 'summarily arrest'; another term of Attic law (Meier and Schömann l.c.), here applied to a lawless action.

(496) *συνταράττοντα τὴν πόλιν*, 'disturbing the public peace'; *συντ.* τὰ πράγματα 24 § 44; 55 § 21.

§ 61 l. 498. τῷ μὲν and τοὺς δ(ε) are resumed in (499) τοῖς μὲν and τὸν δ(ε), in inverse order. (499) *ἀποτυμπανίσαι*: § 61.

500. *ἐπιτήδειον* (masc.) . . παθάν: 22 § 57; 20 § 83. Almost synonymous with *ἄξιος*, but referring to general rather than distinctively moral fitness. Both are combined in *Ep.* 3 § 43.

καπέχαιρον: 21 § 134 οὐκ *ἐκείνους ἐπετίμων ἀλλὰ σοὶ ἐπέχαιρον*, 45 § 85 *ἐπέχαρτος*, c. Dat.

501. ἐπ' *ἐξουσίας* ('with liberty, or licence') *ὁπόσῃ* = ἐφ' *ὁπόσῃ* ἐξ. or ἐπ' *ἐξ. ὁπόσῃ*. Cp. §§ 25, 63. For ἐπ' c. Gen. cp. 19 § 342 *ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἥσπερ νῦν ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀσέλγειας μενέει*, and 8 § 14. (502) *ὅπως* . . *ληφθήσεται* (488).

(503) *κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν*, 'proceeded to carry out their plot.'

504. εἰ τις, placed immediately before the verb, leaving τῶν πολλῶν in an emphatic position. *κατεπλήκτο*: lit.

'was struck down' (with amazement); 'was astounded.' Hero it denotes the cause of *ἐσθία*, *tacebat attonitus* (Franke).

τὸν *Ἐφφ.*—*μεμνημένοι*: Thuc. ii 21 § 1 *μεμνημένοι καὶ Πλειστονάκτα* . . *δρε*. The Pl. Part. refers to the collective εἰ τις = *δοσι*, 2 § 18; 4 § 28.

506. οὐ πρότερον . . πρὶν c. Ind.: Goodwin *MT.* § 634.

507. *ῥῆξαι φωνήν*: *rumpere vocem*; 'loqui tanquam vinculis ruptis, quibus timor vocem constrinxerat' (GHSchaefer). Herod. i 85 ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφωνος . . ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, Aristoph. *Nub.* 357, *Eq.* 626, Virg. *Aen.* ii 126-9 *bis quinque silet ille dies* . . *vix tandem* . . *rumpit vocem*.

508. *διασκευασμένοι*: *ἡταμασμένοι*, *ἐνοπλοὶ* (Hesych.), 'in battle-array'; coupled with *ὡς εἰς μάχην* in Xen. *Hell.* iv 2, 19. (509 f.) *ἡμύνοντο* . . *προὔδιδον*: tentative.

§ 62 l. 510. τῆς πόλεως δ(ε): cp. 6 § 3 *οἱ αὖ ποιεῖ δ(ε)*.

511. *ἀρχοῦσι καὶ τυραννεῦσι*, 'rule as tyrants.'

512. τοὺς τότε—*ὄντας* (Acc. after *ἐκβαλόντες* and *ἀποκτείναντες*), 'those (i.e. the *δῆμος*), who formerly (when Euphraeus was denouncing them) protected them (the partisans of Philip)

and were ready to do any injury to Euphraeus.' The ingratitude of the 'tyrants' towards their own former supporters is here depicted. *σώζοντας* and *δντας* are Imperf. (513 f.) τοὺς μὲν . . τοὺς δὲ, *partim* . . *partim*; 6 § 11.

515. ἀπέσφαζεν ἑαυτὸν: implying 'when he had fallen into the hands of the Macedonians.' Euphraeus had used his influence at the court of Perdiccas to exact an unduly high standard of culture: no one was permitted to dine at the royal table unless he was interested in geometry or philosophy. Accordingly, when Philip had succeeded Perdiccas, Philip's general Parmenion put Euphraeus to death, when he had captured him at Oreos. Such is the story of Carystius (ap. Athen. 508 κ). The statement in the text is more likely to be true.

516. μαρτυρήσας: the participial clause is at least as important in sense as the principal verb. *καθαρώς*: from pure and disinterested motives.

§ 63 l. 513. τί οὖν ποτ' αἰτιὸν . . τό: 8 § 56. θαυμάζε(ι) τῶς: i.e. 'you ask, perhaps, with astonishment.'

520. ἥδιον . . ἔχων: here with *πρὸς*; in 5 § 15 with Dat. (522) παρ' ὧν: sc. αἰτιὸν ἐστίν. ἐπὶ τοῦ βελτίστου λέγουσιν: 8 § 69; cp. 8 § 32, and 9 § 56.

523. οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἔνεστιν, 'cannot, though they would'; Lys. 12 § 31 μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλομένων ὧν τ' εἶναι ἐξελεγχθῆναι, Xen. Cyrop. i 4, 5 βουλομενος οὐ δύνατο. *πρὸς* χάριν . . εἰπών: 3 § 3; 4 § 51; 8 § 1, 69.

524. τὰ . . πράγματ(α): emphatic. (525) ὅπως σωθῆσεται (488). ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται, 'in the very counsels in which they gratify' (their audience). The relative clause is equivalent to a substantive; similarly 16 § 13 ὡς ἐσώθησαν = τῆς σωτηρίας. Cp. 19 § 238 ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐτιμᾶσθε (with Shilleto's note), and 45 § 27 ὡς διεφθάρκει.

§ 64 l. 526. εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευον: sc. οἱ μὲν = οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου λέγοντες, e.g. Dem. in 4 § 7; 2 § 27. (527) οἱ δ(ε), the partisans of Philip. πολέμειν καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν (6 § 24 ἀπιστία): sc. ἐκέλευον. 528. τῶς: c. Aor.

Ind., Goodwin *MT*. § 613, 1. ἐγκαταλήφθησαν: Aeschin. 2 § 15; 3 § 91, 239; Lycurg. 95; 'until they were ensnared'; lit. 'hemmed in,' 'surrounded,' Thuc. iii 33, iv 116; here only in Dem.

ἐγκαταλείφθησαν (the reading of Vind. 1 and B, which has α in place of an erased η), would have meant 'were left in the lurch,' or 'neglected' (19 § 161). In [10] § 33 ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι, *derelicti*, and in other senses in Dem.

529. τάλλα (sc. ἐπαρτω or ἐλεγον)—λέγω: Plato *Crilo* 47 ο . . τάλλα . . οὕτως, ἵνα μὴ πάντα δίδωμεν, cp. *Protog.* 319 c, *Symp.* 176 A. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον: adverbial Acc.

530. οἱ μὲν, Philip's partisans. ἐφ' οἷς χαρίζονται (525).
(531) ἑμᾶλλον: sc. οἱ πολῖται, the citizens at large being identified with the patriotic party among the orators.

532. πολλὰ δὲ κτλ., 'but many things and those the last' (in point of time), or 'many things, at the very last,' 'did the people in general approve, not merely from any such motive of indulgence or ignorance, but (slowly) submitting when they began to believe that they were being defeated in their general interests, i.e. that all was being lost. (534) προσέειπε, 'they admitted,' 'approved.' ἐποκατακλινόμενοι, 'giving in'; c. Dat. in Plato *Rep.* 336 c and π where it is followed by ὑπέκειν. τοῖς δλοῖς ἡττᾶσθαι: 1 § 3; 2 § 31 τῶν δλων πραγμάτων, 18 § 278 τῶν δλων τι, cp. 18 § 28; Aeschin. 2 §§ 103, 120, 3 § 133, Xen. *Cyrop.* viii 1, 13; Machon ap. Athen. 349 c τοῖς δλοῖς ἐρρωμαι, and Dem. 18 § 39 τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δλοῖς οὐδὲν μέτρῳ μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν. Cp. *summa rerum* in Livy iii 5 § 8, 61 § 11, etc.

§ 65 l. 535. νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλων: + καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν 21 § 198. Aeschin. 1 §§ 81, 88, 108; + καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν 21 § 198. Cp. 24 § 121 νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον.

536. δέδοικ(α) . . μὴ πάθῃ(τε): Goodwin *MT.* § 365.
(537) ἐπειδὴν resumes ἐπειδὴ (534). μῆδεν <εἶθ' > ἑμῖν ἐνόν, 'that there is nothing <left> for you to do.'

537. ἐνόν is followed in certain mss by a few clauses (see critical note) suspected by GHSchaefer, rejected by Schultz, Voemel, Dräseke (pp. 123 f.), and others, but retained by Spengel, who proposes ἡ(or καὶ) γὰρ ἐξενήθηες, οὐ δὲ ἀγνοῖαν (approved by Dindorf).

539. τεθνάναι—κρεῖττον, 'better die ten thousand deaths.' 21 § 201 ἀπολωλέναι δεκάκις (μᾶλλον δὲ μυριάκις ib. 118); cp. 18 § 301; 19 §§ 15, 110, 131; 24 §§ 177, 207; 21 § 21; Herod. vii 47; Lys. 13 § 91. Cic. *ad Att.* xiv 9 *ponne millies perire est melius quam* . . , *Phil.* ii 44, 112. τεθνάναι, Perf. not only of the Tragic form *θνήσκω*, but also of the Comic and Prose form *ἀποθνήσκω*, the Perf. of the latter not being used.

540. κρεῖττον: sc. ἦν, without *ἄν*, 20 § 23 (Goodwin *MT.* § 416). Here the suppressed protasis refers to the Future, e.g. *εἰ δὲ τὰ πράγματα ἐν τούτῳ γένοιτο* or *εἰς τοῦτ' ἔλθοι*.

541. καὶ προσέθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑμῶν λεγόντων τινάς: rejected by Dobree as an interpolation from § 49; but retained by Spengel, who holds that the clause does not refer to any surrender of anti-Macedonian orators to Phillip, but to their being ignored by the people. Funkhaenel

replies that this would have required τοὺς—ἀλόγους, and Dräseke (p. 128) regards it as an interpolation due to a marginal note on an event of the time of Alexander (335 B.C., ASchaefer III 1373 f., Grote c. 91 viii 281).

καλὴν γ(ε) . . χάριν: ironical; 'a fine recompense, indeed'; 23 § 121 καλὴν γ' ὕβριν ἦμεν ἂν ὑβρισμένοι. Asyndeton expressing deep feeling (repeated 514 with ellipse of χάριν). Cp. καλῶς (548), μωρία (550), πᾶλλ' ἂν (558), ἔως (562).

542. Ὀρεαίων κτλ.: the order of §§ 56-59 and § 63 (Olynthus, Eretria, and Oreos) is here inverted.

§ 66 l. 545. πρόσβας: Dem. mentions in 18 § 79 an embassy sent at this time to Euboea on his own proposal.

547. δουλεύουσι κτλ.: Xen. *Anab.* iii. 1, 29 οὐ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι παύμενοι κεντούμενοι ὑβριζόμενοι οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλημόνες δύναται, *Hell.* iii 3, 11. σφαττόμενοι, executions are among the means by which they are kept in slavery. The harshness of apparently describing the slain as being enslaved led to the v.l. στρεβλούμενοι.

548. Δασθέην . . Ἀπολλωνίδην: § 56; 6 § 21.

Δ. Ἰππαρχόν: Hypercides (*frag.* 76) says it was *Euthycrates* who γενόμενος ἱππαρχος τοῖς Ὀλυνθίων ἱππείας προέδωκε Φιλίππῳ.

§ 67 l. 550. μωρία καὶ κακία κτλ., 'folly (it was) and cowardice to cherish such hopes.' Thus far the orator refers in general to the Olynthians, etc. The following clauses bring the argument home to Athens.

(551) κακῶς βουλευόμενοι, 'while they (i.e. *you*, 27 § 55; 37 § 4) take evil counsel.' (552) μὴδὲν—ἐθέλοντας: 2 § 22. (554) ἡγείσθαι, 'fancy,' 'imagine.'

ὥστε μὴδὲ: ὥστε μὴ, 'as the ordinary form with the Inf., may be used in indirect discourse, even with the Fut. Inf.' (Goodwin *MT.* § 595).

(555) μὴδ' ἂν ἐτιοῦν ἢ (19 § 324), 'in no event whatever': cp. 18 § 168; 19 § 6; 20 § 168; 37 § 16.

§ 68 l. 555. καὶ μὴν introduces, with emphasis, a new point: §§ 10, 12, 30; 2 § 9; 8 §§ 16, 60.

556. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἐξέσθαι ταῦτα γινέσθαι; 'why (3 § 6), who would have expected these things to happen?' Polyb. x 32, 12 τὸ λέγειν ὡς "οὐκ ἂν εἴδοιμιν· τίς γὰρ ἂν ἤλπισε ταῦτα γενέσθαι;" μέγιστον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ σημεῖον ἀπειρίας. Here the ἂν does not go with the Inf.

557. ἔσθαι: 8 § 1.

τὸ καὶ τό, 'this or that.' 18 § 243 εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν. Similarly τό (demonstrative) before μὴ ποιήσας.

559. τότε εἰ προείδοντο: on the position of εἰ see 4 § 29.

560. *πᾶλλ' ἄν*: sc. *ἔχουσιν*. *πολλά* (sc. *ἄν ἔχουσιν* l. 558). (561) *Φωκείς*: the mention of the Eretrians in §§ 57-58 after the Olynthians (§ 56) and before the *᾽Πρεῖται* (§§ 59-62), and of the same three states in § 63, leads us to expect *πᾶλλ' ᾽Ερετρεῖς* instead of *πολλά Φωκείς*, or *πᾶλλ' ἄν ᾽Ερετρεῖς* just before *πᾶλλ' ἄν ᾽Πρεῖται* (so Spongel *Δημηγ.* 73 f.). The Phocians need not, however, be omitted; they, like the rest, had adopted a false policy, and had actually rejected the offer of aid from Athens (ASchaefer ii 188*). For the form of sentence cp. 18 § 81 *πολλά μὲν ἄν χρήματ' ἔδωκε Φιλιππίδης* . . , *πολλά δὲ Κλείταρχος* . . , *πολλά δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος*.

§ 69 l. 562. *τούτων*: i.e. the things they might mention. *ἔως ἄν* (§ 41) *σφίηται τὸ σκάφος*, 'as long as the vessel remains in safety' (Present); (566) *ἐπειδὴν δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχη*, 'but the moment the sea has overwhelmed it' (Aorist). Goodwin *MT.* § 90, and § 532. *σφίηται*: cp. § 70 *ἐσμέν σφῶι*. *τὸ σκάφος*: the 'ship of the state' is a familiar figure beginning with Alcæus (Frag. 18, imitated by Horace *Odes* i 14). Cp. Soph. *Ant.* 189 f., quoted by Dem. in 19 §§ 247 f. (563) *ἄν τε . . ἄν τ(ε)*: § 16. *μῆζον*: the size of the ship is no certain ground of security; cp. *τηλικαύτην . . πόλιν* (554), *πόλιν μεγίστην* (569). (564) *ναύτην . . κυβερνήτην*: Article omitted in *general* ref. to members of a staff, or official persons: 18 § 75 *πρωτάνεις καὶ στρατηγολ*. *πάντ' ἀνδρ' ἐξῆς*, 'every man in turn.' 24 § 70 *ἐξῆς πάντα*, 22 § 61 *ἐξῆς ἅπαντας*, 8 § 55 *πᾶσαν . . ἐφεξῆς*. Cp. 28 § 10. (In the fully developed democracy which assigned equal rights to all, the phrase became a stereotyped formula equivalent to *πάντες ὁμοίως* and *πάντες ἐξ ἰσού* (20 §§ 12, 85); cp. note on Aristot. *Const. Athens* 4 § 3.)

565. *ὅπως*: c. Fut. Ind. (488). *μήθ' ἐκὼν μήτ' ἄκων*, 'whether designedly or accidentally,' Soph. *Phil.* 771 *ἐκόντα μήτ' ἄκοντα μηδὲ τῷ τέχνῃ*. (566) *ἀνατρέψαι*: Aeschin. 3 § 158 *ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πορθμέας τοὺς εἰς Σαλαμίνα πορθεμένους νόμον θέσθε, ἐάν τις ἄκων ἐν τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, τοῦτω μὴ ἐξείναι πάλιν πορθεῖ γενέσθαι*. Dem. 19 § 250 *οὐδ' ὅπως ὁρῆθ' πλεῖσται (ἡ πόλις) προείδeto, ἀλλ' ἀνέτρεψε καὶ κατέδυσε*. (567) *ὑπέρσχη*, 'becomes too powerful,' 'overflows.' *μάταιος*: preferred for Fem. to avoid *hiatu*. In 19 § 84, where there is no such reason, *μάταιαι* is retained.

§ 70 l. 567. *καὶ* introduces the personal application, as in 1 § 11 l. 97; 4 § 41 l. 367.

569. *πόλιν* — *κάλλιστον*, 'a magnificent city, plentiful resources, lofty reputation' (K). 570. *ἐξίωμα*: here and in

§ 73=ὡν ἡ πόλις ἀξιοῦται παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις (19 § 30). For another sense see § 43.

571. *ἀν* . . *ἑρωτήσας*: all the mss have *ἑρωτήσων*. See Goodwin *MT.* § 266. In many such instances the mss vary (15 § 19; 19 §§ 80, 342); or the Fut. Part., which they couple with *ἀν*, is an impossible form (as in 18 § 168 *ἀν συμπτυνούσων*). Often the difficulty is simply removed by altering *ο* into *α* or by omitting *ἀν* (16 § 11; Plato *Apol.* 30 c; Thuc. vi 20 § 2), or altering AN into ΔH, which in uncial characters is very similar (*Cl. Rev.* vi 336-42). In Xen. *Anab.* vii 7, 55 *ὥς* . . *ἀν οἰκίσων*, *ἀν* is only found in three mss, and in Philemon *δν οὐδὲ εἰς λελήσθην οὐδὲ ἐν ποιῶν*, | *οὐδ' ἀν ποιήσων οὐδὲ πεποιηκώς πάλαι*, the second line is found in only one of our three authorities for the fragment, and even here *ἀν* is easily altered into *αδ* (Rehdantz, *Index*).

Gaudeo me Dindorfio probasse *ἑρωτήσας* verum esse (*VL.* 93). Ubi semel constititit *ἡδέως ἀν ἑρωτήσων*, *ἡδέως ἀν ποιέσμαι* aut simile quid pro *ἑρωτήσμαι* vel *ποιοῦμαι* recte dici, tum demum librorum lectioni acquiescimus. Quod equidem numquam futurum esse satis scio (Cobet *MC.* 469).

κἀθηται: 6 § 3; 8 § 30. 'Perhaps some one, seated in this Assembly, has long been wishing to ask.'

572. *καὶ γράψω δέ*, 'and (what is more) I shall move a resolution.' 3 § 15 *καὶ πράξαι δὲ θυνήσεσθε*. In the previous speech (8 § 68) he had hesitated to make a definite proposal, though the measures which he then advised (§ 76) were the same as now. *ἀν βούλησθε, χειροτονήσετε*: see note on 4 § 30 *ἀν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη χειροτονήσετε*.

573. *αἰτοῖ* (577): emphatic. *ἀμυνόμενοι κτλ.* These proposals follow the lines of 8 § 76, except that the reference to Diopithes is naturally dropped. Athens was to prepare to defend herself, and to be ready to resist Philip. At the first favourable opportunity she was to declare war against him. This advice was actually carried out soon after.

574. *τρίηρεσι* . . *χρήμασιν* . . *στρατιώταις*: virtually dependent on *παρασκευαζόμενοι*, as instrumental Dative. By *στρατιώταις*, citizen-soldiers are mainly meant, as is shown by the sequel. Otherwise *ξέροις* would have been mentioned. (575) *λέγω*: 1 § 27; 8 § 24.

ἑῶν affects the whole of the parenthesis. (577) *ἀγωνιστέον*: more expressive than *πολεμήτέον*, and implying that all the Greeks will be witnesses to the contest (Rehdantz).

§ 71 l. 577. ταῦτα δὴ πάντ(α): resumptive, after parenthesis; 4 § 21.

578. παρεσκευασμένοι . . ποιήσαντες: Perf. and Aor. combined. 57 § 17 τί παρεσκευάσμαι ποιεῖν; δέξαι . . παρασχέσθαι . . ἀνελεῖν . . , ὑμᾶς δὲ σφίξω . . πράττειν.

579. ἤδη, 'then.'

ταῦτα (= ταύτας τὰς παρασκευάς).

580. διδάζοντας: 1 § 2 πρεσβεῖαν πέμπειν, ἥτις ταύτ' ἐρεῖ. On Fut. Part. cp. 4 § 49.

580-s. πανταχοί, εἰς Πελοπόννησον—καταστρέψασθαι: omitted in § 1 alone, but added in the margin (together with the words ἰάν—Πελοπόννησον (583-9) which are also written in the body of the ms). Voemel, who retains the words, supposes that the eye of the copyist wandered from πρόσβεις—εἰς Πελ. to πρεσβεῖαι περὶ τὴν Πελ., and that part of the intervening passage was thus omitted. The words were retained by Spengel in 1839, but regarded as an interpolation in 1860, in which opinion Drüske agrees (pp. 127 f.).

581. Πελοπόννησον—ὡς (8 § 35) βασιλῆα: these embassies were actually sent soon after. Dem. himself went to the Peloponneseus (Aeschin. 3 § 97); Hyperides to Rhodes ([Plut.] *Lives of the X. Orat.* 850 A), perhaps also to Chios; while the embassy sent to King Artaxerxes Ochus is mentioned in Philip's Letter ([12] § 6; 340 B.C.), and implied in the reference to the Persian king's dispatches in Aeschin. 3 § 238 (ASchaefer ii 483^a).

582. οὐδὲ—ἀφέστηκε, 'it concerns his interests.' Eur. *Iph. T.* 912 οὐδ' ἀφεστήξει λόγου, 'it will be reasonable.'

585. ἄν τι δέη: here preferred to ἐάν τι δέη (4 § 16), possibly for reasons of rhythm. Aeschin. 2 § 57 μεταπεμφθέντες . . , ἵνα κοινῇ . . πολεμοίεν, εἰ δέαι, Φιλίππῳ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων.

εἰ δὲ μή, 'otherwise'; much more common than ἐάν δὲ μή, even when (as here) ἐάν μὲν c. Subj. precedes (Goodwin *MT.* § 478). χρόνους (= διατριβάς 47 § 63) γ' ἐμπούητε, 'cause delays'; 36 § 2 οὐχ ἵνα . . χρόνους ἐμποιῶμεν, 23 § 93 χρόνους ἐμποιήσαντες. 'Dem. assumes that Philip would wait to see the result of the negotiations' (Abbott and Matheson).

§ 72 l. 587. ἄνδρα, 'a single man' who may fall ill and die; 19 § 55 (Philip) ἄνδρα θνητὸν καὶ διὰ καιρὸς τινὰς ἰσχύοντα. συνειστάσεως: the power of a 'consolidated' state. 8 § 11 δυνάμιν συνεισθηκῶν, and § 46; Xen. *Anab.* vii 6, 26; vi 5, 30.

588. οὐδὲ . . οὐδ(ε): § 19.

589. αἱ πύρριν πρεσβεῖαι: sc. ἐγένοντ' ἀχρηστοί. These 'embassies' of 343 B.C. were led by Dem. Pl. perhaps because the embassy was sent to several cities. περὶ τὴν Πελοπόν-

νησον, 'round about the Pel.' This definition is not preceded by *αι*, as another definition (*πέρι* *νησιν*) has gone before. Xen. *Anab.* v 6, 20 *τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας περὶ τὸν Πόντον οἰκουμένης* (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 484, 8 a *ad fin.*).

590. (*πρεσβεῖαι*) καὶ κατηγορεῖται, *δς* . . *περιήλθομεν*: the second substantive is here subordinate in meaning to the first; 'embassies and remonstrances' implying embassies charged with remonstrances. [47] § 77 *τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, δς κελεύει* (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* § 370, 3). The text is confirmed by 8 § 37 *πρεσβεῦτε καὶ κατηγορεῖτε* (cp. 9 § 28 *πέμπομεν πρέσβεις* . . *ἀγανακτοῦμεν*). Πολέμευτος: this ardent patriot, who was probably present in the Assembly (*ἐκείνοισι*), and is here characterised as an 'excellent' man (a rare compliment in a deliberative speech at Athens), was one of those whose surrender was demanded by Alexander on the eve of his departure for Asia in 335 (Plut. *Dem.* 23; Arrian i 10).

591. Ἠγήσιππος: nick-named *ὁ Κρωβύλος* ('top-knot'), an active member of the patriotic party, now generally assumed to be the author of the speech *περὶ Ἀλωνήσου*, Or. [7]. ASchaefer ii 330 f.

592. καὶ ἐποίησμεν: the relative constr. is here abandoned as in 397 f.

593. *ἐν* Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν: Philip had actually advanced against that town (§§ 27, 34), but was thwarted in his designs.

§ 73 l. 595. αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν: here = *ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*. But αὐτοῖς (597) is general in sense.

601. τοῖς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ: the soldiers of Diopieithes, 8 § 76. (602) φημί δεῖν: 4 § 16.

604. συγκαλεῖν, συνάγειν form one pair of verbs: διδάσκειν, νοουθετεῖν (Plato *Apol.* 26 A) another. (605) ἐστίν c. Gen.: 'is the part (or duty) of.'

§ 74 l. 606. *εἰ δ' οἴεσθε* . . *οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεσθε*: 2 § 22; 4 §§ 4, 29; 8 § 48. Χαλκιδικᾶς . . Μεγαρίδας: § 17; 8 § 18. These passages show that both of these states, which were then the only allies of Athens, and weak allies too, were much exposed to Philip's attacks. It was doubtless about this time that Dem. negotiated the alliance between Athens and Chalcis mentioned by Aeschines, 3 § 92. (607) *σώσεν*: Fut. Inf. after *οἴεσθε* in the sense of 'expect' (Goodwin *MT.* § 136). ἀποδράσασθαι: 8 § 3; run away from your duties or business (like slaves). (608) ἀγαπητόν κτλ.: each of these states may be only too glad, if they are safe themselves. The general sense of the passage resembles Isocr. 6 § 19.

609. ἑμὶν: thrice repeated for special emphasis. 3 § 36.

611. ἐκτῆσαντο is more closely connected than κατέλιπον with μετὰ πολλῶν—κινδύνων. The order is more precise in 3 § 36 ἦν . . . μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν κινδύνων κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον. In the text καὶ κατέλιπον is subordinate in sense (cp. § 73 καὶ κατηγορεῖται).

§ 75 l. 612. δ βούλεται, 'what he desires,' instead of 'what he ought to do'; 3 § 19.

613. καθέσθαι: cp. 2 § 23 καθήμεθ' οὐδὲν ποιῶντες. ὅπως c. Fut. Inf. (488).

614. οὐδὲ μήποθ' εὐρη: Goodwin *MT.* § 295; cp. 4 § 44 ἂν καθώμεθ' οἴκοι, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῶν μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων.

615. δέδοιχ' ὅπως μὴ . . . γένηται: Goodwin *MT.* § 370 (where the v.l. γενήσεται is the reading quoted). 617. ἀνάγκη γένηται=ἀναγκασθῶμεν, but more impressive. Cp. 1 § 15.

§ 76 l. 618. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ—λέγω: summing up the sense, with δὴ pointing back to § 70 ἐγὼ νῆ Δί' ἐρῶ. ἐγὼ is here emphatic, and still more is the twice repeated ταῦτα.

619. ἐπαγορευθῆναι ἂν: of the future; here equivalent to Aor. *Opt.* with ἂν (Goodwin *MT.* § 207).

620. εἰ δέ τις ἔχει βέλτιον: not a common-place formula here. Dem. is fully conscious that his own proposals imply a declaration of war, and he honestly hopes that some safer expedient may be suggested by another.

622. δ τι—δόξει . . . συνενέγκοι: δόξει=μέλλει δόξαι, 'whatever you are about to decide.' The sentence is of the same type as 4 § 51 ult. νικῆθ' δ' δ τι . . . μέλλει συνόσσειν, and 3 § 36 εἰλασθ' δ τι . . . συνόσσειν μέλλει. δόξει, preferred in Goodwin *MT.* §§ 561, 722, would mean 'whatever you may decide.' ὡ πάντες θεοί: 6 § 37; 18 § 324; an impressive appeal, inspired by the perils drawing near to Athens. Here, as in the closing words of Pindar's *Eighth Pythian*, the invocation is 'ominous.'

623. συνενέγκοι: the last word is of good omen. See note on 4 § 51.



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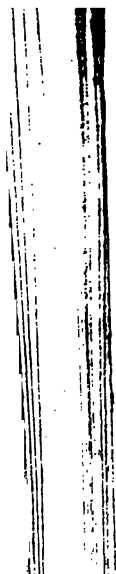
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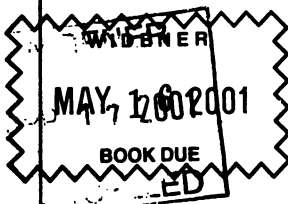
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